MEROË

THE CITY OF THE ETHIOPIANS

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF A FIRST SEASON'S EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE, 1909–1910

BY

JOHN GARSTANG

A. H. SAYCE AND F. LL. GRIFFITH

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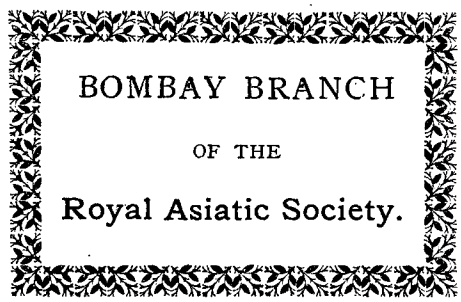

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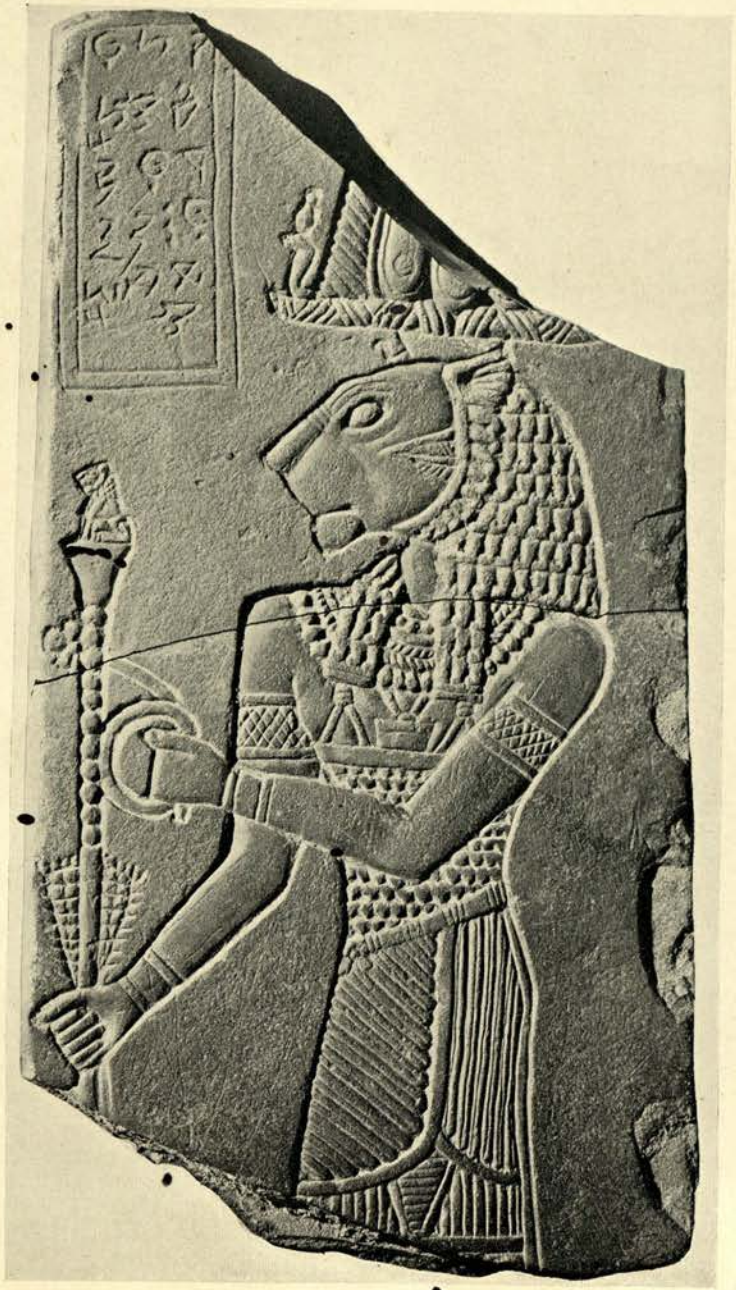

Inscribed votive tablet of red slate from the Lion-Temple (no. 6). *Obv.* The Lion-God, with crown and sceptre. *Rev.* The king in long robe, with helmet-crown and sceptre.

Front.

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PREFACE

At the suggestion of Professor Sayce, and aided by the facilities granted by the Government of the Sudan, the Liverpool University Institute of Archaeology was enabled to commence excavations on the site of Meroë during the winter season 1909–1910. The funds for this purpose were subscribed by a special Committee, which included amongst its members Mr. Ralph Brocklebank, the Rev. W. Macgregor, Mr. Robert Mond, Mr. Martyn Kennard, Mr. James Smith, and Mr. H. S. Wellcome. The Royal Museums of Brussels (M. Jean Capart), the Glyptothek of Copenhagen (Dr. Waldemar Schmidt), and the Royal Scottish Museum at Edinburgh (Dr. J. J. Dobbie), co-operated with the Institute of Archaeology in this undertaking.

Our party at first consisted only of Mr. Schliephack and myself, but we were able to secure the services of twenty-five picked workmen trained during the past ten years to our methods of excavation in Egypt. These, under the leadership of Saleh Abd El Nebi, joined us at Luxor *en route* up the Nile at the end of November, and returned with us at the end of February. During the course of a few weeks a gang of about 200 local Sudan labourers was gradually got together, and in this way considerable clearances were made, and the first experimental excavations progressed with satisfactory speed. Naturally the task of organizing and providing for this body of workmen under new conditions was somewhat strenuous. Happily, Professor Sayce was able to join us in the middle of the season, and stayed with us to the end. We owe much of the success of these first results to his inspiration and encouragement. We should also thank at the outset Mr. Peter Drummond, representative of the Administration of Antiquities in the Sudan Government, and Midwinter Bey, Director of the Sudan Railways, for numerous kindnesses and facilities which changed what might have been otherwise arduous conditions of work, so that they became pleasant and easy.

As will be seen in the pages of this volume, several integral pieces of excavation, illustrating the nature of various Meroitic buildings, were practically completed; while our first experiments in the necropolis disclosed the origins of the Meroitic culture to be based upon materials entirely new to archaeology.

This is shown by the common pottery of early times, in which the complete absence of Egyptian influence is at once important and surprising. It is, therefore, both possible and desirable to publish without delay such results as have been obtained, postponing a fuller discussion of the culture and history until more extensive excavation has supplemented these materials.

Such history of the Ethiopians as may be gleaned from ancient literature or based on our new evidence is treated in the Introductory Chapter by Professor Sayce, who also contributes an account of the decipherment of the Meroitic hieroglyphs, incorporating his own conclusions derived with characteristic rapid insight from his comparative study of texts in the pyramids of Meroë, at Naga, and elsewhere, with those newly found. The Meroitic texts as a whole, however, are discussed at our joint invitation by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, who saw some of the inscriptions during a visit to the excavations, and re-studied those which were movable during the exhibition held in London. His contribution, in the last chapter of the volume, as well as his copies of the texts, which fill fourteen plates of illustrations, will command the attention of scholars both as an example of method and from the definite results which he has established.

J. G.

INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL,
November 14, 1910.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY: THE ETHIOPIAN CAPITAL

By Professor A. H. Sayce

The Sudan was known to the Egyptians and Hebrews as Kash or Cush, to the Greeks as Ethiopia. In the very dawn of Greek literature we hear in the *Iliad* (i. 423–5) how Zeus and the other gods went each year to feast for twelve days among 'the blameless (?) Ethiopians', while the *Odyssey* (i. 22–6) represents Poseidon as doing the same upon his own account. Here, too, among 'the Ocean streams' the cranes made their winter home, carrying 'death and destruction' to the Pygmies with whom the Egyptians were already acquainted in the age of the Old Empire (*Il.* iii. 3–6). The Ethiopian Tithonus of Greek legend has been plausibly identified with Dedun the god of the Second Cataract.

From a very early epoch the incense needed for Egyptian worship was brought from Southern Arabia to the African coast, whence it was carried through the land of Punt to Kash and Egypt. Along the same road travelled also the logs of Sudanese ebony, so greatly prized by the Egyptians, which grows along the upper course of the Blue Nile. Two trade-routes can be traced from the coast of the Red Sea to the valley of the Nile. One of these followed the course of the Blue Nile, and avoiding the dangerous Shabluka Cataract crossed the level plain from Rufaa to Gebel Geili, and the Nile-port of Wad Ban-Naga. The other struck across the land to the Atbara, and from thence to the great *khor* or fertile valley which ends at Meroë. The Fourth and Fifth Cataracts were avoided by leaving the Nile at Berber, nine miles north of which are the ruins of an ancient town, and striking across the desert to Napata and Gebel Barkal. To what a distant date these trade-routes reach back may be concluded from the designs on the pre-dynastic slates which represent the Egyptians invading the country of a woolly-haired race where giraffes browse upon the palms and the guinea-fowl abounds. For the home of the giraffe and guinea-fowl since the beginning of the neolithic period we must go to the neighbourhood of the Blue Nile.

The first capital of the Sudan was Napata. Here Amon-hotep II of the Eighteenth dynasty brought one of the rebellious princes of Northern Syria, and after putting him to death hung his body on the walls of the city as a warning to the Sudanese tribes. How much older than the age of the Eighteenth dynasty Napata may have been is uncertain. Three miles south of the old railway station

at Kerma in the Dongola province I found last winter a vast cemetery of the Twelfth dynasty, together with two huge brick mastabas of the same epoch. Some of the typical Middle Empire pottery I obtained from it is now at Khartum. As the cemetery testifies to the existence of several generations of Twelfth-dynasty Egyptians in that part of the Sudan, it seems probable that the fragment of a hieroglyphic inscription mentioning 'the city of the House of Amon-em-hat', built into the walls of the mediaeval fortress of Old Merawi, refers to Napata. At all events, like other fragments of inscriptions and sculptures in the same place, it has come either from the city which stood at the foot of Gebel Barkal or (with less probability) from that the ruins of which lie on the opposite bank of the Nile, and which was apparently the Napata of the Roman age.

Meroë, between the Atbara and the Blue Nile, was of later foundation, and, judging from the pottery discovered there, was not of earlier date than the eighth century B. C. In the reign of Hor-si-atef, who writes the name Baruat, it was attacked unsuccessfully by the Rehrehsa under their chief Arua, and a temple was built there by the Ethiopian king. Unfortunately the date of Hor-si-atef is uncertain: Professor Petrie makes him later than Aspalut (B. C. 625), whose broken stela we discovered this winter in the temple of the Sun, of which he was presumably the builder. A later successor of Aspalut was Nastosen, who was a native of Baruat, and was saluted king by the priests of Amon from both Baruat and Napata. Nastosen, who defeated the army of Kambasauden or Kambyses, calls himself king of To-Kenset (or Nubia including Dongola), of the city of Alut, and of the Nine Bows, from which we may infer that Alut, the later Aloa, was an alternative name of Meroë. In the hieroglyphic inscription of the Sun-temple the name of the city is written Mer, and as it is called 'the city of the land of Mer' it would seem that the whole district was known as Mer or Meru, and that the name was supposed to be connected with the Egyptian *mera*, 'a port'. In the cursive Meroitic texts we find it spelt *M-r-u* and *M-r-ḳ*, while a hieroglyphic inscription gives it as M-r-ḳ-(wa-a); but it is possible that Barua was the original form. The site of the town was well chosen. It stands on the bank of the Nile, midway between the Fifth and Sixth Cataracts, and at the end of a *khor* which extends for many miles into the interior. During the rainy season the *khor* is filled with water and vegetation, and affords an easy road for caravans coming across the Atbara from the Red Sea. The city of Meroë was, therefore, the natural outlet on the Nile of the more northern prehistoric trade-route from the east. Immediately to the north of it are hills of sandstone containing the extensive quarries where the stones used in the construction of its buildings were worked, while northward there is unimpeded navigation down the Nile to Berber, where the desert-road to Napata left the river.

The mission sent by Nero to discover the sources of the Nile reported that Meroë was 360 Roman miles from Napata, and 70 miles south of the Astaboras or Atbara. Opposite the city was the island of Tadu which sheltered the harbour from the north-west wind. At the time of the visit of the Romans the town seems

to have fallen into decay in consequence of its capture and partial destruction by some enemy, but it was said to have once supported 200,000 soldiers and 4,000 artisans. It was then ruled by a queen named Candace, who had had forty-four predecessors on the throne (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 29).

Candace had also been the name of the queen who attacked Egypt in the reign of Augustus, and against whom Petronius marched in B. C. 22. On this occasion the Roman general advanced as far as 870 Roman miles beyond Assuan, and razed Napata to the ground. Henceforward, we may conclude, Meroë remained the sole capital of the kingdom. The Candace of Nero's time was probably the Candace mentioned in Acts viii. 27, whose eunuch treasurer was a convert to Judaism.[1] Whether she was identical with the Kantakit or Candace who was buried in one of the Meroë pyramids, and whose inscriptions are now at Berlin, is uncertain. At any rate it is not necessary to assume the existence of more than two Candaces, and as the monuments show that a king and not a queen was generally the head of the state, the assertion of Pliny that Ethiopia was governed by queens cannot be correct, much less that they all had the common name of Candace.

As long as the Sudan continued a part of the Egyptian empire it was ruled by Egyptian viceroys who bore the title of 'Prince of Kash'. The name and worship of Amon, the god of Thebes, were carried southward, and it is possible that Napata, of which Amon became the supreme divinity, was an appanage of the Theban priests. When the Libyan Shishak usurped the throne of the Pharaohs in the tenth century B. C., the descendants of the Theban priest-kings of the Twenty-first dynasty are believed to have retreated to it, and there established a theocratic monarchy of their own. The decline of the Bubastite dynasty enabled one of them, Piankhi, to assert once more the claim of his family to the throne of Egypt, and to overrun the valley of the Nile almost as far as the Mediterranean. Piankhi's successors, Kashto 'the Cushite', Shabaka, Shabatok, Taharqa, and Tanut-Amon, enforced the claim, and founded an Ethiopian dynasty which governed Egypt from B. C. 715 onwards, when they were finally driven back to Ethiopia by the Assyrians. Their names show that the ruling caste in the Sudan had by this time become to a certain extent Ethiopianized, though they were hailed in Upper Egypt as the rightful lords of the country and successors of the ancient Pharaohs. On their monuments, moreover, they are represented as Egyptians, and the language of their inscriptions is that of Egypt. It is true that on a stela of the Assyrian king

[1] It does not follow that the queen was also a convert to Judaism, though the relations between Ethiopia and the Jewish kingdom in South Arabia (if it was already in existence) were probably frequent. As the treasurer was a eunuch, he must have been a negro. That there was a monotheistic tradition in Ethiopia, however, may be gathered from the inscription on the altar of Piankhi at Old Merawi, where it is said of Amon that 'he is (*pû*) without father and without wife when he comes forth to give the breath of life to the king'. We can hardly suppose it to have been derived from the adherents of Akhenaton, whose city of Qem-Aton has been discovered by Professor Breasted at Sesebi, but it may have been imported by the Jewish mercenaries who assisted the Ethiopian kings in their wars with the Pharaohs, and afterwards established themselves at Elephantine.

Esar-haddon Taharqa is depicted as a captive negro with a ring through his lip; but as Taharqa was never a prisoner in Assyrian hands, and could never have been seen by the sculptor, it is clear that the representation is taken from one of the negro soldiers of the Ethiopian king whom the artist imagined to be of the same race as his master. The monuments found this winter at Meroë prove definitely that the Ethiopians had no negro blood in their veins.

In the reign of Psammetichus, whom recent discoveries have shown Herodotus was right in making the first of his name, the Egyptian garrisons, which were said to be 240,000 in number, migrated into the Sudan, and were there given the fertile districts of the negroes on the southern bank of the Blue Nile (the modern Gezira or 'Island'), where they acted as a 'buffer' between the agriculturists of the Island of Meroë and the troublesome negro tribes of the south.[1] We may gather from this that Meroë was already in existence. It is therefore not surprising to find Aspalut shortly afterwards, towards the end of the seventh century B. C., erecting a temple there to the Sun-god. The temple of Amon to whom the city was dedicated would have been already built.

The excavation of the site has made it clear that the temple, like other sanctuaries at Meroë, was partially destroyed at an unknown period, and rebuilt by Neteg-Amon, his queen Amon-tari, and son (?) Neteg-Harkhuti.[2] They were the great builders and restorers of the later Ethiopian kingdom, and we find their monuments, not only at Meroë, but also at Wad Ban-Naga, Naga, and Amâra. Another royal builder was Ark-Amon, the Ergamenes of Diodorus (iii. 6), who had been brought up at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and whose constructions are found as far north as Dakkeh in Nubia. At Meroë he repaired the Sun-temple (unless, indeed, there was a later king of the same name). Before his time the Meroitic hieroglyphic and cursive alphabets had been invented, based, it would appear, upon the model of the Greek alphabet.

Greek culture must have made its way into Ethiopia at a fairly early period. Some of the pottery exhibits distinct traces of Naukratite influence, and books were written about Ethiopia by Dalion, Aristocreon, Basilis, Bion, and Simonides the Younger, the last of whom resided for five years in Meroë. At a subsequent date Roman influence must have been strong there. The inscription of Kenrethr in the chapel attached to one of the Meroë pyramids speaks of his receiving presents from 'the Pharaoh (*Prui*) of the West', and the thin red pottery in the ruins of the Ethiopian cities reminds us of Samian, while the stamped ware must have been

[1] Hdt. ii. 29, 30. Herodotus says that Meroë was half-way between Elephantine and the Egyptian settlement; he has, however, confounded it with Napata. According to Strabo (xvii. p. 541) the Egyptian colonists were known as Sembrites, or 'Strangers'; Esar, their capital, was seventeen days' journey south of Meroë and twelve days south of Tolles, according to Aristocreon. It is worth notice that in digging a well in the golfing ground south of Khartum a copper coin of Kos was found belonging to the second century B. C. It has the head of Herakles in the lion's skin on one side, and a bow and club on the other.

[2] A new king brought to light by the excavations at Meroë.

due to Roman inspiration and can hardly be earlier than the second or third century of our era.

Meroë was destroyed, however, before the introduction of Christianity into the country. The site of the temple of Amon was never again occupied, and it yielded no trace of anything Christian. Such graffiti as had been scratched upon its ruined walls belonged to the pagan period. It was only on the site of the 'Kenîseh' that Professor Garstang discovered the remains of a later settlement and traces of Christianity.

A fragmentary Greek inscription which I obtained on the site in 1909 indicates when the city was destroyed. The inscription proves to be a record of Ta-zêna, king of Axum in Abyssinia, who lived in the fifth century of the Christian era. An inscription of his, still existing at Axum, describes his conquest of the kingdom of Kasu or Ethiopia, and states that, after destroying the 'stone towns' of Alwa and Darô higher up the Nile, he 'set up' his 'throne' on an island opposite the confluence of the Atbara and White Nile, and within sight of the 'stone town' of Zawa . . . .[1] Darô is the Daron of classical geography, and Alwa, written Alu-t on the stela of Nastosen and Alᶜ in the Meroitic hieroglyphs of Naga, seems to be another name of Meroë. Last winter, with the kindly help of Midwinter Bey, the Director of the Sudanese Railways, I made some excavations at the southern end of the island which is opposite the confluence of the two rivers, where the Bey had discovered a huge breakwater of uncut stones, and we found a stone platform on the top of it. As there was no vestige of either pottery or human habitation on the spot there can be little doubt that it was here that the throne of the Axumite king was set up. The kings of Axum had already claimed suzerainty over Ethiopia, since Aizan (A. D. 356) calls himself king of Kas, but the complete conquest of the country and the destruction of its capital did not occur until a century later. The Christian kingdoms of Alwa and Dongola followed on the fall of that of Axum.

The merit of first discovering the site of Meroë really belongs to Bruce in 1772. In his journey down the Nile from Abyssinia he tells us that after leaving Shendi he passed a large island named Kurgos. 'Opposite to this is the mountain Gibbainy (? Gabbâna), where is the first scene of ruins I have met with since that of Axum in Abyssinia. We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, all plainly designed for the statues of the dog[2]; some pieces of obelisk, likewise, with hieroglyphics, almost totally obliterated. The Arabs told us these ruins were very extensive, and that many pieces of statues, both of men and animals, had been dug up there; the statues of the men were mostly of black stone. It is impossible to avoid risking a guess that this is the ancient city of Meroë whose latitude should be 16 deg. 26 min.' In writing from memory Bruce has confounded the 'mountain' on which the pyramids stand with the ruins of the city: as he travelled along the

[1] Cf. the translation of the inscription by Prof. D. H. Müller in Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians* (1893), pp. 264 sqq.

[2] Another edition reads 'Dogstar'.

river-bank, however, it must have been here that the ancient monuments had been disinterred. The 'obelisks' may have been the pylons of the temple of Amon.

Bruce's discovery, however, remained unnoticed, and he himself subsequently changed his mind, and fixed the site of the city at 'Gerri' nearly a degree further south. The ruins observed by Burckhardt at 'Djebail' lie to the north of Meroë and mark the site of an insignificant settlement of quarrymen, though the Cambridge explorers Waddington and Hanbury, who at first thought they had discovered Meroë at Gebel Barkal, are perhaps right in thinking that it is identical with El-Jebel, 'the mountain' which was described to them as being two days' journey from Shendi, and as containing grottoes 'with figures and pillars'.[1] The 'figures and pillars', however, must have been derived from recollections of the pyramids of Meroë.

Cailliaud, who accompanied the army of Ismail Pasha in 1820–1, was the first to make Europe acquainted with the antiquities of the Island of Meroë. He discovered the ruins of Naga, Wad Ban-Naga, and Mesawwarat es-Sofra, as well as the pyramids of Meroë, and took valuable notes of ancient mounds and other remains in various parts of the country. He, too, was at first under the impression that the ruins of Napata were those of Meroë, but the impossibility of reconciling their latitude with that assigned to Meroë by d'Anquetil on the authority of the classical geographers, obliged him to seek the site of the latter city further south. Hence the first sight of the pyramids of Kabushiya convinced him that they represented the burial-place of the Meroitic kings, and that the city of Meroë itself must have been in their neighbourhood. It is strange, therefore, that he did not at once identify it with the mounds of Keyêk, which he carefully surveyed and where he noted the remains of a temple which has proved to be that of Amon. It is probable that the imposing character of the temples at Naga, four of which are still standing, prevented him from doing so. The statements of the classical geographers, moreover, had produced a confusion in the mind of the modern reader between the 'city' and the 'island' of Meroë.

It is still more strange that Lepsius, who spent so many days copying the sculptures and inscriptions in the pyramid chapels, and who was looking out for the site of the city to which the pyramids belonged, should have equally failed to identify it. In his *Letters* he has much to say about the pyramids, but the only mounds he seems to have visited were those near the modern station of Mutmir. Of these he says:[2] 'We stopped about noon at an island called Gomra, as we heard that there were ruins in the vicinity which we should like to see. We had to proceed through a flat arm of the Nile, and ride for an hour on the eastern shore to the north. There at last we found, after passing the villages of Motmar and El-Akarid, between a third village, Sagâdi, and a fourth, Genna, the inconsiderable ruins of a place built of bricks, and strewn with broken tiles.

[1] *Journal of a Visit to some Parts of Ethiopia* (1822), pp. 143, 186. El-Gebel, which is six miles south of the Mutmir Station, is not the same as Gabâti, near which are some mounds of brick and a great cemetery that extends for about three miles into the eastern desert.

[2] *Discoveries in Egypt, Ethiopia,* &c. (2nd ed.), p. 157.

'We returned but little satisfied amidst the noon-day heat, and arrived with our bark only just before sunset in Begerauîe, in the neighbourhood of which are situated the pyramids of Meroë. It is remarkable that this place is not mentioned by Cailliaud. He only speaks of the pyramids of Assur, i.e. Sûr or e'Sûr. The whole plain in which the ruins of the city and the pyramids lie bears the same name, and, besides this, a portion of Begerauîe, which, probably by a slip of the pen, is called Begromi by Hoskins.'

Lepsius, however, refrains from identifying 'the city', in which Ferlini had already vainly searched for treasure, with the ancient Meroë, and when Dr. Wallis Budge published his comprehensive work on the Sudan he could still say that its site was uncertain, while Mr. John Ward, writing in 1905, was obliged to pronounce that 'where the metropolis of Meroë was is still a mystery.'[1] It was the identification of the great temple of Amon which finally settled the question.

[1] *Our Sudan*, p. 156.

THE EXCAVATIONS

By Professor J. Garstang

CHAPTER II

THE SITE OF MEROË

With Plate II

The site of Meroë is marked by the groups of pyramids to be seen in the eastern desert some three or four miles from the river, about twenty miles northward from Shendi, between Khartum and Atbara. The cultivable bank of the river is here very narrow, and considerable areas are covered by trees. At intervals along the river bank there are traces of ancient occupation: inland at Naga, which lies back some twenty-five miles into the eastern desert, there are four small but instructive temples, while at a neighbouring site, Messawrat, there is an ancient stone-built town in remarkable preservation.[1] At both places there are ancient wells, and considerable crops can be grown after the summer rains. At Meroë, however, there are now no temples visible. During the nineteenth century it would seem that the pylon of the historical temple of Amon was still standing, but probably the military operations at the end of the century are responsible for the disappearance of its stone-work, and of even the memory of its situation.[2] Indeed, the only visible masonry of the site on our arrival was a length of stone walling,[3] possibly one of the boundary walls of the city itself,[4] about three yards in thickness, standing three to four yards in height, and running north and south over a distance of a hundred yards. The spot is about half a mile from the river, on the east bank, in a partial clearing of the trees which surround the small villages of Keyêk and Begerewîyeh. This clearing seems to correspond with the site of the ancient city, for hereabouts there are numerous and considerable mounds of stone, brick, and débris. About a hundred and fifty yards eastward from the wall just mentioned

[1] For a modern description of the Surface Monuments see Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan: its History and Monuments* (London, 1907), I. viii, et seqq.

[2] See, *inter alia*, Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroë* (Paris, 1826, 28), Pl. XXXI. Hoskins, in his interesting but too brief account of the city ruins, *Travels in Ethiopia* (London, 1835), p. 84, says that the temple was hardly traceable at the time of his visit, but this is not borne out by local tradition.

[3] Partly seen in the background of Pl. VIII. ii, after excavation.

[4] This point is not yet clear; if it was the city wall, then several large buildings stood without; if it was that of the temenos, then it enclosed an area much greater than the temple of Amon, and this wall was much stouter than those which seemed to bound the temple area.

there were to be seen two pairs of stone rams lying prone in the sand which partly covered them.[1] The ground to the east was flat, but between the rams and the wall there was a considerable amount of broken ground, and this proved to be the site of the Temple of Amon.[2] In the north-western extremity of the site, and seemingly just beyond the city's boundaries, near to the village Begerewîyeh, there was a very large mound called by the natives El Kenîseh (the church),[3] and from its surface there rose a large square moulded stone of dark colour, which proved eventually to be the altar of a temple that had formerly stood upon the mound. Extensions of this temple towards the south furnished evidence of use during Christian times, thus accounting for the local tradition. Originally it had been dedicated in all probability, as Mr. Griffith has suggested, to the Egyptian goddess Isis.

The railway alone separates these remains from the open desert, in which the nearest prominent features are two mounds, continuous with the series which indicate the ruins of the city, of which they form in fact the south-eastern extremity. One of these had been partly cut through by the railway. The other one we excavated,[4] and as in the case of the Kenîseh, it proved to be the site of a small temple, which, for purposes of reference, we shall speak of as the 'Lion-Temple', on account of two stone monuments and other smaller objects that were found within it. From this point northwards the desert stretches away almost continuously, broken only here and there by depressions which mark the course of the summer rains. The surface, however, is dotted with low mounds, some of sand, some covered with stones, for a distance of more than a mile. These proved, as Professor Sayce had rightly surmised, to mark the site of the necropolis of Meroë. We excavated experimentally seventy or eighty tombs, and the sites of the more important or interesting of these are indicated by numerals on the Map. Further east from the city, distant about three-quarters of a mile, there was a large mound standing within an outer four-sided enclosure.[5] This has been noted by earlier visitors, to whom it seems to have given the impression of a peripteral building of considerable importance.[6] It proved to be a Sun-temple, remarkable for the beauty of its architecture and for its comparatively good preservation. Its glazed sanctuary was raised aloft in the centre of the building, and open to the skies, being gained by a flight of steps from a cloistered platform of stone, which was already considerably above the level of the plain. Its situation, in the midst of an unusually broad green depression in the desert, so near to the ruins of the city, accords with the account of Herodotus,[7] where he speaks of a Table of the Sun in a meadow outside the city.

[1] Cf. Pl. V. i and Pl. VI. i, spot No. 280 in Pl. II.

[2] Spot 260 in Pl. II. See Pl. V. ii.

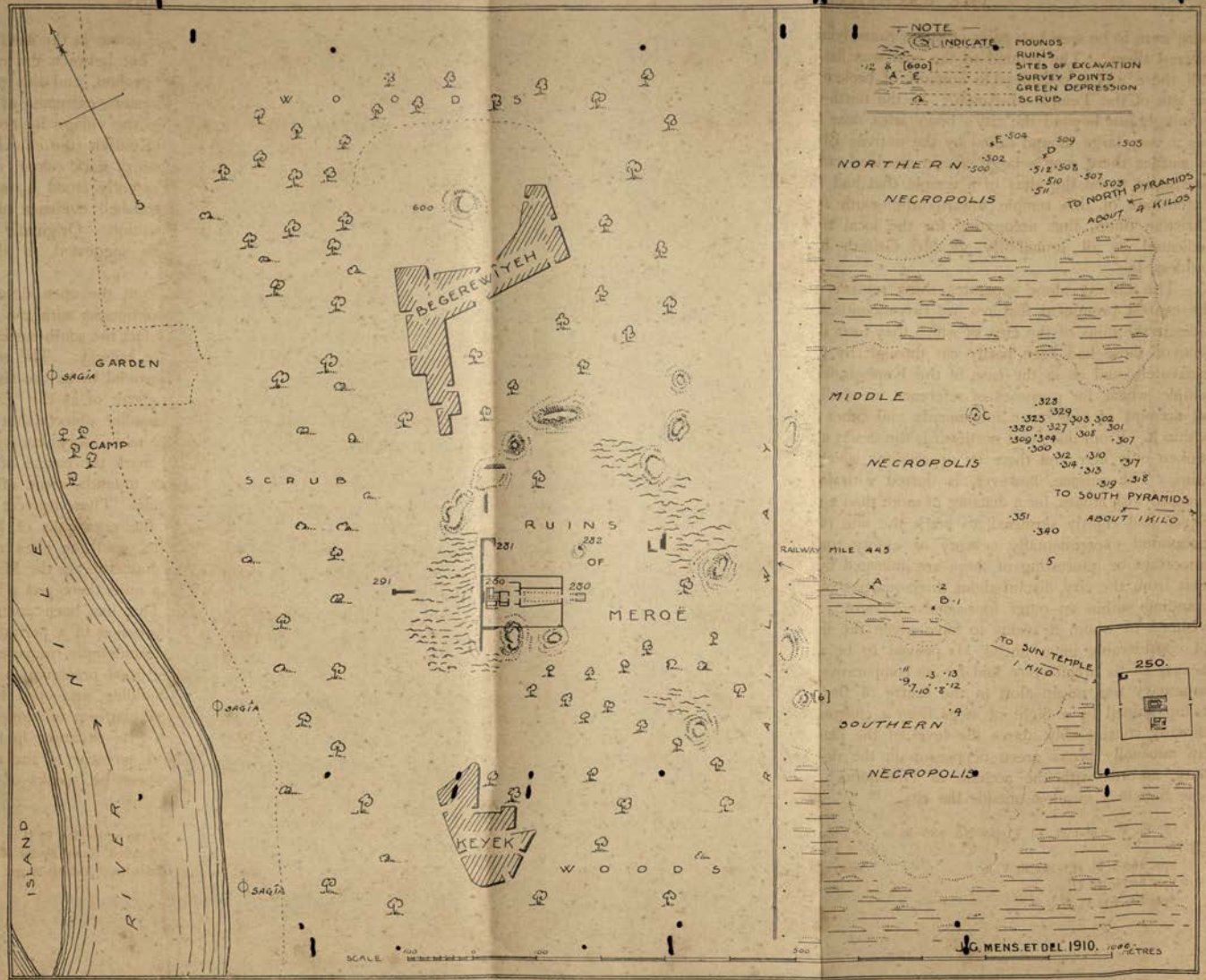
[3] Spot 600 in Pl. II.

[4] Spot No. 6 in Pl. II.

[5] Spot 250 in the Map, Pl. II.

[6] Cf. Breasted, *Second Prelim. Rep., The Monuments of Soudanese Nubia* (Chicago, 1908), p. 5.

[7] iii. 21.



MAP OF SITES OF EXCAVATION, 1910.

CHAPTER III

THE TEMPLE OF AMON

With Plates III–XIII

(*a*) *The fore-kiosk, with Plates IV, V. i, VI. i.*

The fallen rams which have been mentioned were the only indication as to the position of the temple. At Naga similar rows of stone rams line the approach to one of the temples, and have been displaced at one point where a small decorative building or kiosk has been added in the axis of approach.[1] On this analogy we had hopes, in following the axis of the avenue, of re-discovering the position of the Temple of Amon. Our first trenches led us eastward to a columned building of considerable size, which we excavated completely. It was almost square, 14 metres in length and 11·50 metres in width. Its walls were of stone, being preserved, so far as we could judge, to their original height of about 110 centimetres. The angles were rounded. The doorway to the west was open, while that opposite to it seems to have been formed into a recess similar to those which may be seen in the central peripteral temple at Messawrat[2]; but probably this feature is secondary, and the passage was originally continuous through the length of the building, in the same line as the avenue of rams. Three square pedestals were ranged on either side in the interior of the building.[3] These had supported round stone columns, of which sufficient traces remained to give us their proportions, being 65 cms. in diameter through the *torus* moulding of the base, and 55 cms. through the drum itself. The pedestals themselves were built of fired brick, and stood breast-high like the walls. On the outside of each wall, corresponding to each pair of pedestals, were pairs of vertical moulds, and similar mouldings at the corners showed that columns had stood there also.

The restoration of this building thus shows to us a small kiosk or shrine similar to that of the Roman age at Naga[4] in principle, that is to say, with open sides and ends, which are formed, as we have seen, by columns standing upon low walls. Only in this case the building was of sufficient dimensions to demand two internal rows of columns to carry the roof, which we may suppose must have been of stone. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that a fragment of

[1] Cf. Budge, op. cit., ii, p. 139. In this connexion we may note that Cailliaud's plan of the ruins of Meroë shows three pairs of rams, whereas only two pairs are now visible.

[2] Liv., *Annals of Arch.*, iii, Pl. XX.

[3] See Plan, Pl. IV.

[4] See Breasted, op. cit., Fig. 10; Budge, op. cit., p. 143 at the foot.

stone bearing the name Amentari[1] in hieroglyphs was found built into the inner face of one of the walls, in an obviously secondary position.

(*b*) *Main building, with Plates III, V–XIV.*

Subsequently our trenches were extended westward and brought to light, at a distance of twenty-one metres from the kiosk, the remains of a stone pylon which was clearly that of the great temple.[2] It was already late in the season when this was discovered, but by employing 250 labourers we were able in the course of a month to trace out the main features of the building.[3] The floor was found at a depth of about two metres, and the building extended westward, hall after hall, until it touched the visible great stone wall at a distance of 120 metres, or about 400 feet, from the main entrance.

The first, or outer, hall (No. 271 in the Plan) was peristyle; its walls were splayed out on either hand, but the original position of the side-wall on the south was recovered, and showed us that the plan had formerly been rectangular, measuring about twenty metres in breadth and sixty-four metres in length. Further evidence of a period of reconstruction was afforded by the discovery that some of the columns to the right hand near the main entrance rested upon a foundation of stones decorated with *uraei*,[4] seemingly from the entablature of an earlier building. The existing walls were uniformly built of brick; the facing bricks alone had been fired; while the doorways and the pylons were lined with dressed blocks of stones. The columns, of which there were ten in the length and four in the breadth of this hall, measured about 105 centimetres in diameter, and were built of stone. They were preserved in some cases to a height of as much as three metres. As mentioned, this hall had its later walls splayed out so that its breadth at the far end was twenty-five metres. In the centre of this hall was a small stone building (No. 279 in the Plan) constructed seemingly in the time of Queen Amentari and King Neteg-Amon.[5] Whether this kiosk was contemporary with any part of the building, as, for example, the existing walls of this hall, was not determined. Its walls were parallel to the original foundations, and measured only seven metres across and nine metres in length. In addition to the names and portraits of the king and queen mentioned, and the cartouche of a third royal personage (presumably a prince) associated with them,[6] there was found in the débris inside its walls a similar block (not shown in our illustrations) bearing the defaced head and shoulders of the ram-headed Amon, followed by the goddess Mut. There was also disclosed a fine sculpture of the god Bes, carved in strong relief on three sides of a square pillar of stone.[7]

[1] See Griffith, below, p. 73, No. 18.

[2] See Pl. VI. ii.

[3] See the Plan, Pl. III.

[4] See Pl. V. iii.

[5] Well known from the temple sculptures of Wad-ben-Naga and elsewhere; cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 304.

[6] See Pl. XII, and the readings of Mr. Griffith, below, p. 72.

[7] See Pl. XIII. iv.

This sculpture may have formed a part of a built-up column after the fashion of those from Wad-ben-Naga, described by Lepsius.[1]

Proceeding further westward, a second court[2] was disclosed with four columns on either hand resting upon squared bases built of baked brick. A third pylon led onwards to a somewhat similar court[3] with three columns and bases of similar character on either side. From this chamber passages led left and right, while the main way still continued in the direct axis towards a smaller hall[4] with two stone columns on either hand. In the shade of the columns on the left, apparently in undisturbed position, were two altars in dark sandstone, with moulded cornice; one of them bore the design of the solar disk and wings, facing to the east. This hall led westward to the three sanctuaries of the temple. That which was in the main axis[5] was eleven metres in length and three metres in width. In its centre the high altar stood in its original position:[6] it was carved in the same kind of fine dark sandstone as those just mentioned. Its base was about 115 cms. in length and breadth, and its height was just over 105 cms. The reliefs upon the eastern and western faces represented the Nile deities on either side of the lotus.[7] Curiously, the gods each bear the emblem of the South. On the south face it was decorated with a scene showing the king kneeling before Horus, with the high priest standing behind making offerings and an oblation; while on the north side were four partly obliterated figures, apparently that of Anubis thrice repeated and a negroid queen. Two small votive tables[8] and an inscribed stone tablet of Horus-on-the-Crocodile lay, apparently as they had been placed, at the foot of the altar on its eastern side. This tablet is described by Professor Newberry as 'the lower half a Cyppus or tablet, representing the Child Horus standing upon two crocodiles, holding in his right hand a scorpion and hare, and in his left a lion and snakes.[9] The inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs around the base, sides, and back gives an invocation to the god for protection against snakes for NES-MIN son of NEB-MEBY. Date XXVIth–XXXth dynasty. [On these cippi see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 583–94.]'

The sanctuary on the north side (No. 265) was of larger dimensions, requiring two columns to support its roof, but it contained no cult objects or religious sculptures. The jambs of the doorway to the southern chamber (No. 264) were, however, decorated with figures or groups incised and painted, arranged in superposed series. 'On the north side were Isis and the king (who wore the *Kneph* crown), facing east; and a Nile-god looking west. On the opposite jamb were the gods Amon, ram-headed, with solar disk on head, facing east; and a Nile-god facing west. Above the ram-headed Amon in an upper register were the traces of another god, either Horus or Thoth.'[10]

[1] Op. cit., I. 139. [2] No. 270 in the Plan.
[3] No. 273 in the Plan. The pylons of this court are probably those indicated by Cailliaud in his plan, op. cit., Pl. XXXI.
[4] No. 269 in the Plan. [5] No. 261 in the Plan.
[6] See Pl. VII. i. [7] See Pl. VII. ii.
[8] Actually moulders' cores of red pottery, such as were freely found on the site. See Pl. X. iv.
[9] See Pl. XI.
[10] Note kindly supplied by Prof. Sayce.

A larger chamber to the south-east of these sanctuaries, and communicating with them,[1] was of somewhat different character, and may possibly be thought to have been the throne-room. Its breadth was barely five metres, but two rows of four round columns adorned the interior, and these were decorated by being painted with blue and other colours upon a white stucco, and they had been further crowned with lotus capitals, which were also painted. The length of this chamber was about twelve metres, and at its western extremity a flight of four steps led up to a dais, the whole (including the steps) being carved in a single block of stone.[2] On the north side of this there was a small altar. Further, a doorway on this side led northward to three small chambers behind the shrines, and these chambers seemed to have been the sites of human interments. From the central one,[3] which was behind the high altar, part of a human skeleton was recovered, and at the bottom a place for a sarcophagus had been prepared and walled with brick. From this chamber several beautiful fragments of faïence were rescued by the sieves, as well as a small cameo-figure of a man, crowned with the head-dress of Amon, executed in relief in glass paste and mounted upon a backing of gold-foil.[4] It is possible from the position and circumstances of this discovery that the burial indicates a human sacrifice (the representative of Amon himself) at the dedication of the temple. Alternatively it may be that of a royal personage deemed worthy of a tomb immediately behind the high altar in the holiest place of the temple. Two further interments were traced in the chambers behind the shrines on either side of the main one, while other objects of glaze and pottery[5] of special interest were found beneath the flooring of the several shrines and of the hall of columns.

Behind the sanctuaries and their funerary chapels there was a transverse corridor:[6] it is now gained by an opening in the wall of the throne-room behind the dais, but whether this was an original doorway is somewhat doubtful. This is, however, a point of minor importance. In the middle of this corridor, immediately behind the central shrine and tomb, in the direct axis of the temple, there remained standing a small altar, somewhat suggestive of Roman work.[7] Behind this again was a large chamber,[8] gained by a flight of steps from either side.[9] This room abutted on the great wall, and was built seemingly upon a low mound of ruins or débris. Its western wall, which was like a facing of brick added to the stone wall of the city, seemed to preserve traces of stucco and painting, especially in a broad recess or panel overlooking the main avenue of the temple.[10]

[1] No. 266 in the Plan, Pl. III; cf. Pl. VIII. i (right).

[2] See Pl. VIII. ii.

[3] No. 262 in the Plan.

[4] See Pl. X. iii for a photograph after restoration. The fragment inscribed with a few Meroitic signs is not necessarily in its original place. In view of what is recorded of the essentially theocratic nature of the kingship by Diodorus and others, we incline to see in this glass figure not the god Amon, but the king, his representative. The god is shown ram-headed in a sculpture just described, and also in his image in the Central Kiosk. Cf. also the king-figure shown in the frontispiece.

[5] See Pl. X and the schedule below.

[6] No. 267 in the Plan.

[7] See Pl. IX. iv.

[8] No. 276 in Plan.

[9] See Pl. IX. i, ii.

[10] Seen in the left back of Pl. IX. ii.

The whole temple was seemingly enclosed by a temenos-wall, which, however, was not fully traced out. Just to the north, outside this temenos, on the further side of a city gateway, there was a considerable building, in which, amongst other carvings, an inscription of Neteg-Amon was found re-used as a building stone.[1] Several other small buildings were located and partly excavated within the site of the city; while another just westward of the great wall (No. 291 in the Plan) may prove to have been a small private temple attached to the royal palace. In it there were found a black stone altar, *in situ*, and several sculptures of prisoners[2] decorating the face of a pylon-like wall.

SCHEDULE OF OBJECTS FOUND NEAR THE SANCTUARIES IN THE TEMPLE OF AMON; SITES 261–269.

261. Central Sanctuary.
- i. High altar, with reliefs (Pl. VII. i, ii).
- ii. Two votive matrix moulds or cores of pottery (Pl. X. iv).
- iii. Inscribed Cyppus of Horus-on-the-Crocodile (Pl. XI).
- iv. Some thick glazed fragments, including corner-pieces as from a box or pedestal.
- v. Piece of blue frit, coloured with cobalt and copper.
- vi. Spinning whorl of baked clay.
- vii. Part of a pottery bowl decorated with Ankh pattern near the rim.
- viii. Miscellaneous fragments of glaze, pottery, glass, and metal.

262. Tomb behind 261 (from the floor level).
- i. Glass paste cameo of the Amon-king (Pl. X. iii).
- ii. Gold Kheper ornament.
- iii. Pottery vases of fine clay (Pl. X. ii).
- iv. Human bones.

263. Tomb beside 262.
- i. Large stone mortar (under floor).
- ii. Decorated pottery table, white on red, type P (Pl. X. ii).

264. Sanctuary S. of 261.
- i. Five glazed seals. (Two on Pl. XXII. iv.)
- ii. Arm of statue (Pl. X. i) and fragment of glaze (below floor).
- iii. Piece of 'very stiff frit or glaze' for glass-making (below floor).
- iv. Some bones of animals (above floor).
- v. Small glazed ram, part of lion (?), and seated figure (Pl. X. 5).
- vi. Horns of an animal in glaze of two colours, purple and green, arranged in broadening stripes.
- vii. Fragments of red, drab, and black (burnished) pottery.

265. Sanctuary N. of 261.
- i. Portion of winged figure (relief) glazed in three colours (yellow and black on blue ground).
- ii. Broken pottery vessel with neck, rough drab.
- iii. Fragments of incised black pottery and of glass.
- iv. Part of large glazed seal, with design of disk and uraei.
- v. A copper fitting.

[1] See Pl. XII. vii; Site No. 281 on Pl. II.

[2] See Pl. XIII. i.

266. Hall of columns.

Fragments of an image in stone, possibly the head of a ram (or bull), covered with stucco, and painted with blue and other colours.

267. Passage behind 262.

i. Altar *in situ* (Pl. IX. iv).

ii. Pottery jug, &c. (Pl. X. ii).

268. Tomb N. of 262.

i. Human bones.

ii. Vase of pottery with spout.

iii. Bowl of dark pottery with incised decoration (Pl. X. ii).

iv. Fragments of painted red pottery and of burnished black pottery.

v. Wing glazed in two colours (fragment).

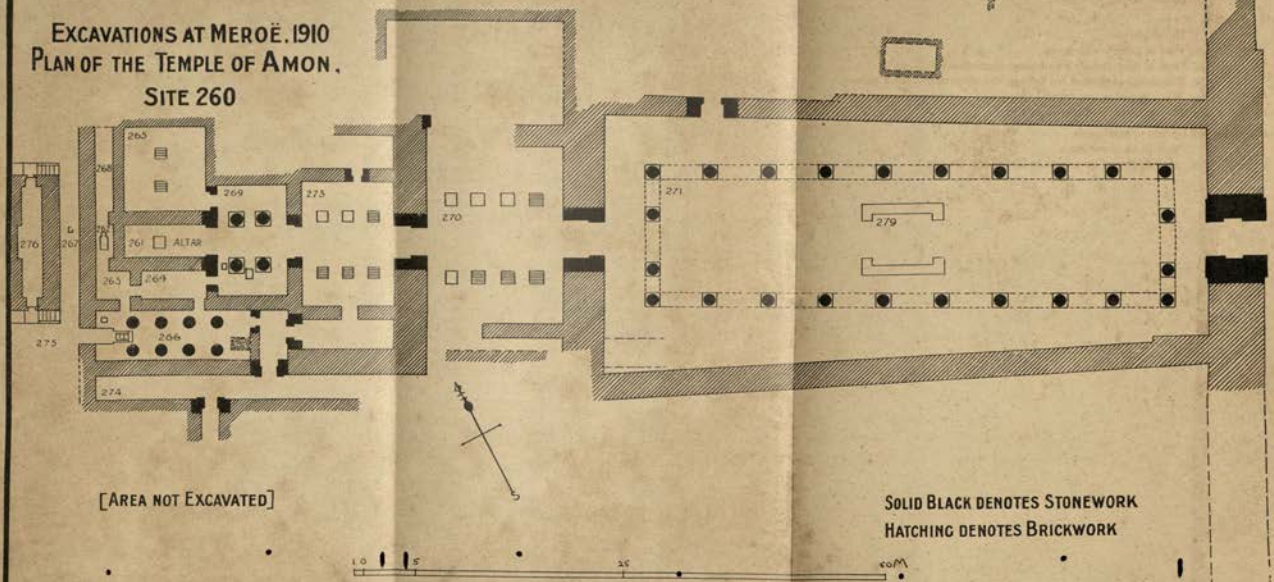
vi. Part of a seal with uraeus pattern.

269. Outer hall leading to sanctuaries.

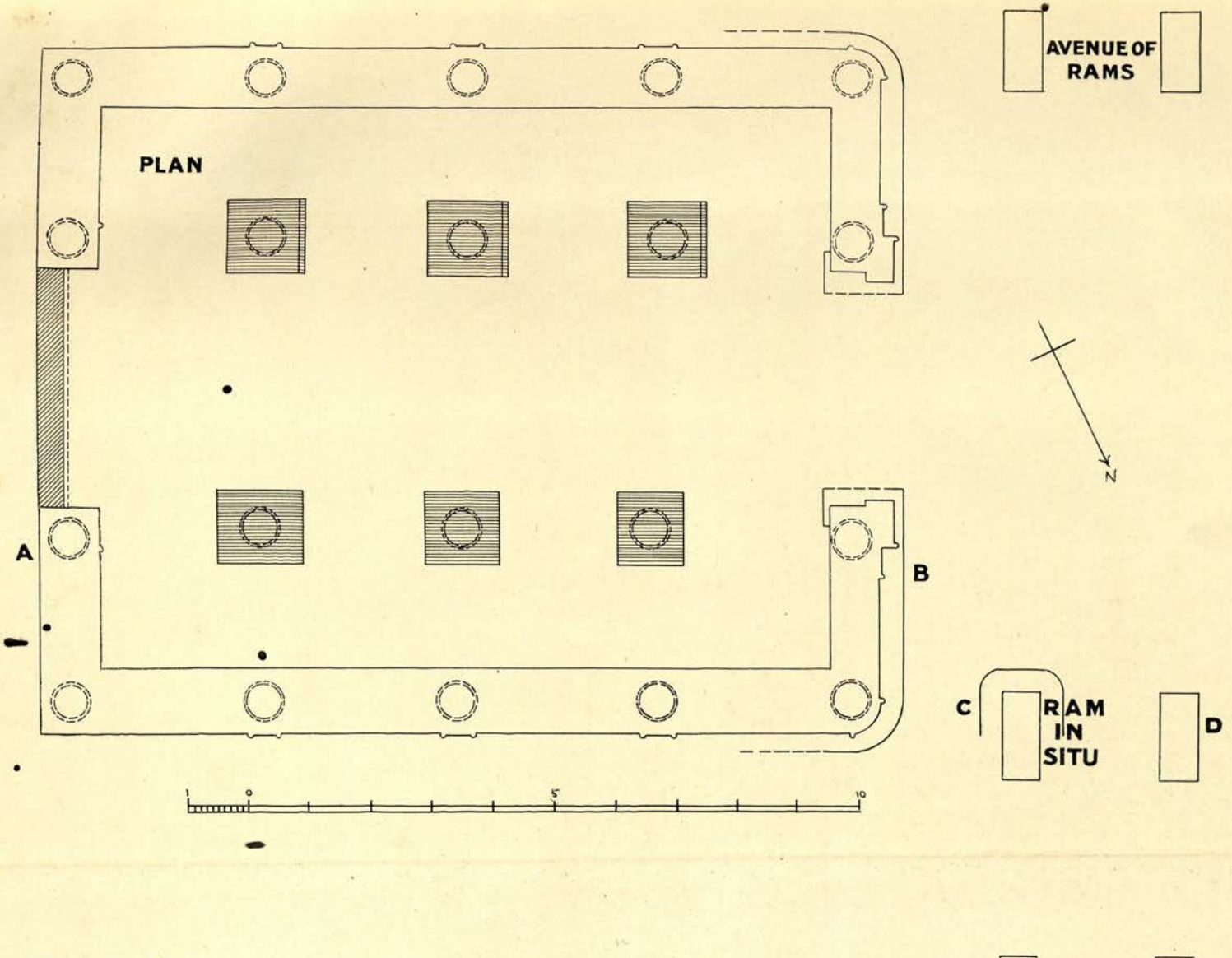
i. Two black stone altars.

ii. Mud figures of an animal, head and legs broken.

EXCAVATIONS AT MEROË. 1910
PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF AMON.
SITE 260

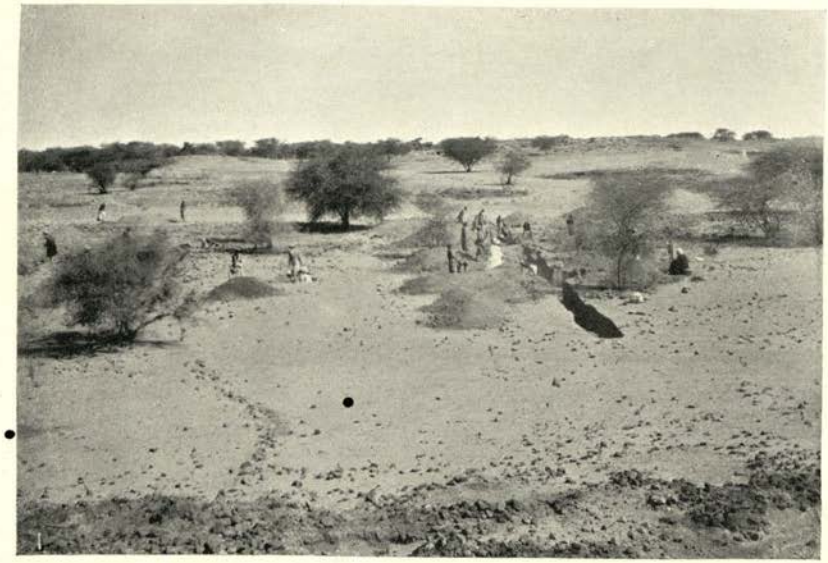


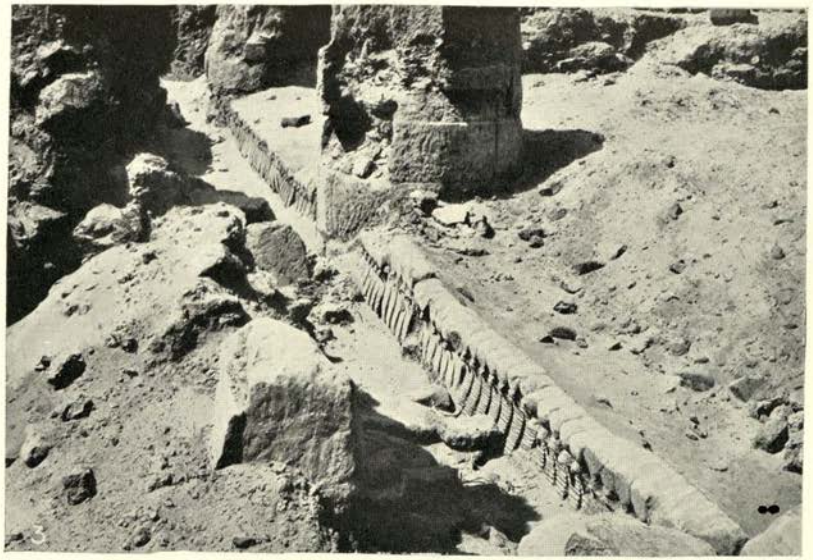
J.G.MENS. FEB. 1910.

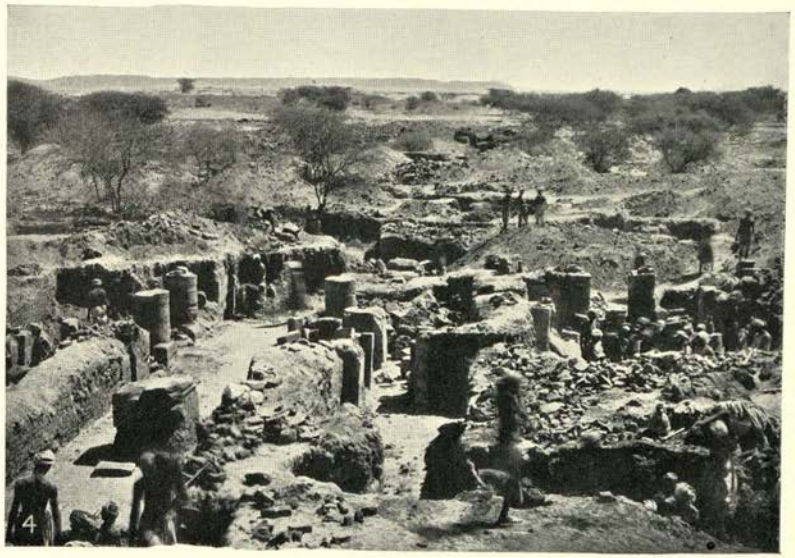


FORE-KIOSK OF THE AMON TEMPLE. SITE 280

PLATE IV



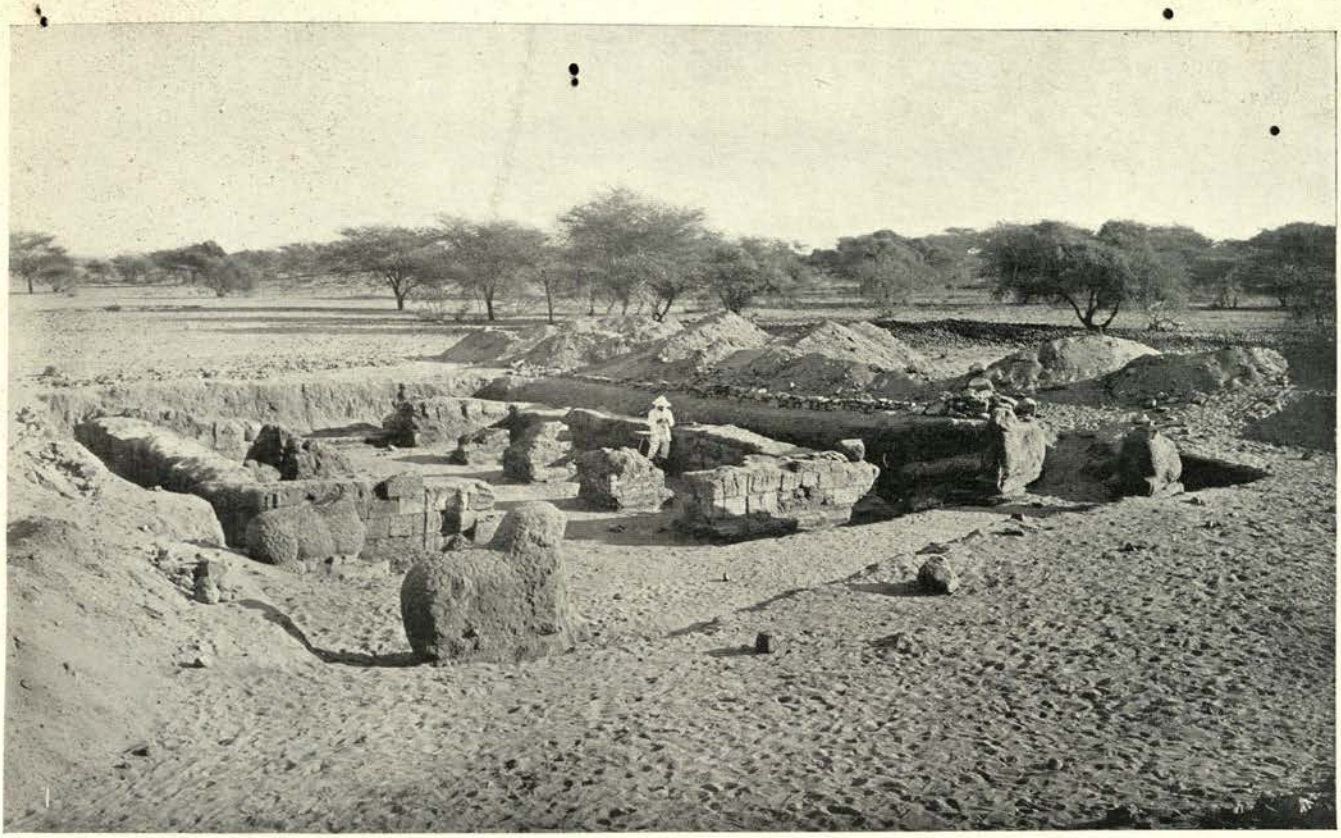




1. Site of the fore-kiosk (280) before excavation.
2. Site of the sanctuaries (261) before excavation.

3. Signs of reconstruction in the outer hall (271).
4. The sanctuaries after excavation (compare no. 2).

PLATE V

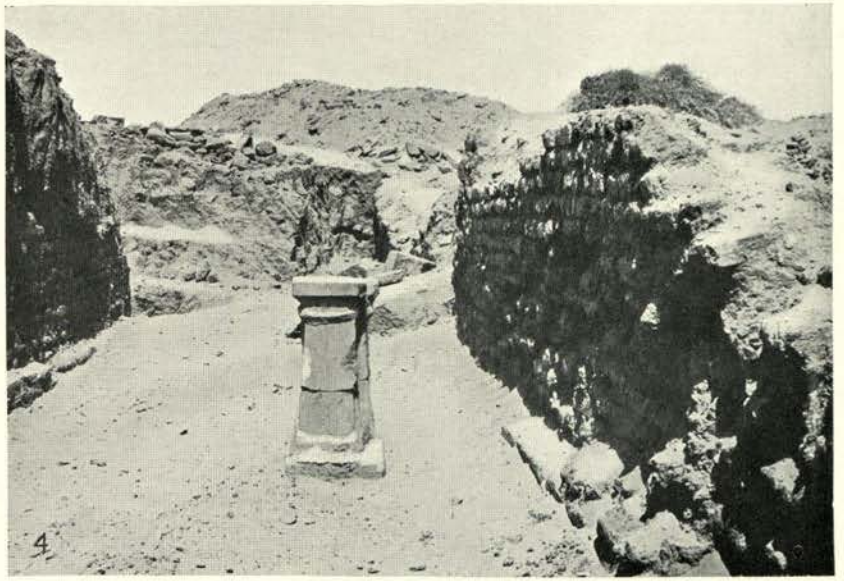


1. The fore-kiosk after excavation, and avenue of stone rams.
2. Columns of outer hall and the great pylon partly excavated.

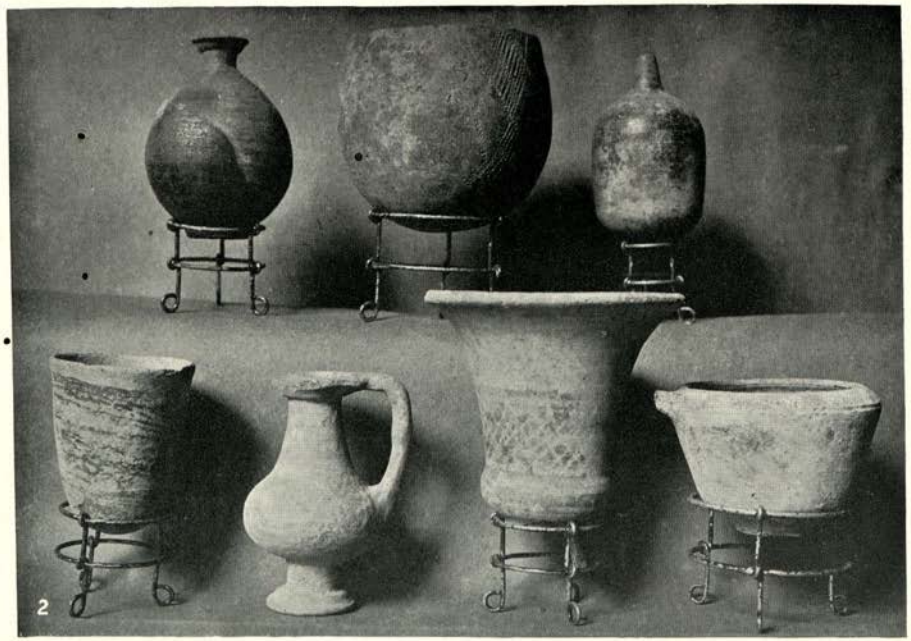
1. The sanctuaries after excavation: two small altars (L) and high altar (C).
2. Reliefs decorating the face of the high altar.

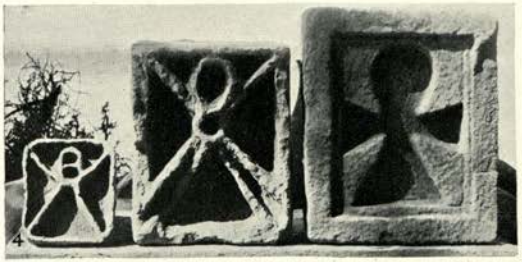
1. The high altar and hall of columns viewed from the west.

2. The dais in the hall of columns (266).



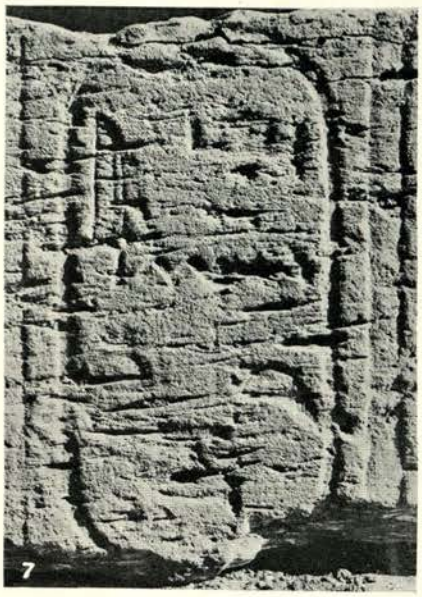
1. Steps (L) leading to hall 276.
2. Steps (R) and stuccoed panel, 276.
3. Painted capital in hall 266.
4. Small altar in passage 267.

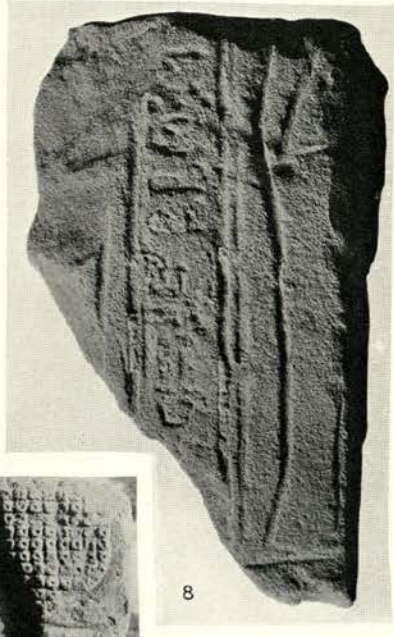




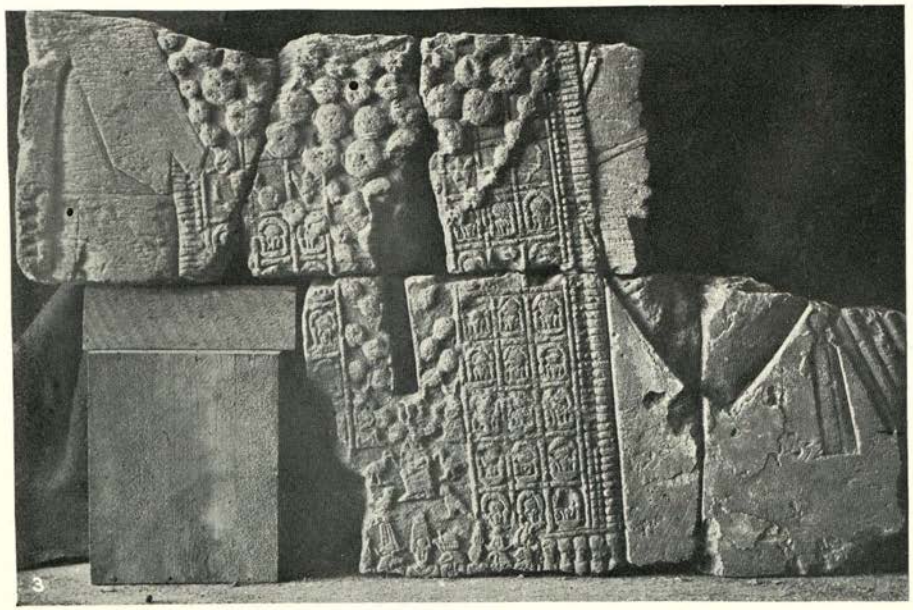
1. Arm of statuette and fragments of faïence objects from sanctuary, 264 (scale 1 : 2). 2. Pottery vases from various chambers (upper row 262, 268, 267; lower row 265, 267, 263, 268). (Scale about 1 : 4.) 3. Glass paste cameo, from tomb-chamber, 262. (Scale about 2 : 3.) 4. Moulders' cores or matrices used as votive offerings, 261 (two), 6. 5. Glazed figures, &c., from sanctuary, 264. (Scale about 1 : 4.)

Votive tablet to Horus-on-the-Crocodile with continuous inscription, found at the foot of the high altar in central sanctuary, 261 (scale about 1 : 1).





1. Carvings and cartouches from kiosk, 279. 2, 3, 4. Details of the cartouches. 5. Inscription upon an unplaced slab, 279. 6. Bust of a royal or divine figure, 281. 7. Cartouch of King Neteg-Amon, 281. 8. Fragmentary column of inscription (no. 21).



1. Relief of prisoners, pylon, 291. 2. Bust of a royal figure, 281. 3. Bust of a royal personage, 250. 4. Figure of the god Bes, 279.

CHAPTER IV

THE KENÎSEH (TEMPLE OF ISIS)

With Plates XIV–XIX

Excavation of the temple called by the natives 'El Kenîseh'[1] introduced another class of structure, of which there seem to be many examples in the vicinity of Meroë. In these the main part of the building is found upon a mound, and entrance was gained by a sloping causeway or flight of steps leading up from the east. In the three examples that were examined thoroughly,[2] the mounds were each, in a sense, artificial; but in the case under consideration a lower stratum of the mound covered the ruins of a pre-existing building of similar though simpler plan. There is enough evidence to warrant a surmise that we are here dealing with a more purely Meroitic class of architecture, locally evolved; and among the existing examples the Sun-temple (No. 250) which is described in a later chapter was probably the earliest constructed, and no doubt lent character to the others.

In the case of the 'Kenîseh' the upper building[3] with its extensions does not seem to have been of early date, but it was pre-Christian, as there is evidence of its re-use in Christian times. Possibly the second century A. D. would be an approximation to its date. The substructure, however, is of a good Meroitic period, to which witness is borne by a fine royal stela of granite,[4] dedicated to Isis, found upon the ground-floor of a central chamber, as well as the remains of two royal statues of an architectural character,[5] which had been overturned and used as foundations for columns in the later building. The upper building again, as may be seen in the Plan, was not altogether homogeneous; indeed, it seems to have been built in two portions, the main temple upon the mound, and the extensions, which covered a larger area, down the slope and on the level ground towards the south. To each portion there was a separate altar of dark stone, each well preserved and protruding above the surface—indeed, these sculptured stones, at the time unexplained, were the chief attractive features of the mound previous to excavation.

The main part of the upper building consisted of two columned halls,[6] leading beyond to the shrine where the larger altar remained standing upon a floor of glazed tiles. The altar[7] was built up of separate large stones, with a great dark piece over all, and was plain except for a moulding around the top. The tiles[8] were

[1] Spot 600 on the Map, Pl. II.
[2] Including Nos. 6 and 250.
[3] See Pl. XIV.
[4] Pl. XIX. iv and p. 70, No. 12.
[5] Pl. XVII.
[6] See Pls. XV. i, XVI. i.
[7] Pl. XV. ii.
[8] Pl. XV. iv.

decorated for the most part with a triangular design in blue and black; other tiles found in the same chamber were of paler blue colour, while a considerable quantity of the latter kind—all broken—found here and elsewhere in the building during the course of the excavation, were larger, thinner, and decorated with figures and emblems, whether divine or regal, in relief upon the surface: these must have fallen from the walls.

The southern group of rooms was more extensive than the plan indicates,[1] but they were so much destroyed that their outlying portions could not be recovered. They did not accord in plan with other Meroitic buildings, though conforming in some details, such as the stone facings to the doorways. The altar was in this case decorated upon its eastern face above the mouldings with the design of the solar disk and wings.[2]

The lower building in the body of the mound could not have been completely excavated without destroying the upper one; so that for the present we were content with making soundings in the floors and open spaces as circumstances permitted. Sufficient of the lower walls was laid bare to enable a conjectural plan[3] to be pieced together; and it will be seen that the newer building was closely modelled and superposed upon the older. The pylon of the main temple and the outer walls were constructed of red brick, and corresponded with the style of the stone-built pylon of the Sun-temple, even in the detail of rounded ornamental corners, for which special bricks had been moulded. Some of the inner walls, however, notably those of a chamber below the sanctuary,[4] seem to have been built of brick which had not been baked, at any rate not hard baked. Dressed stones were used, however, as facings to such of the doorways as were traced; and the same were largely re-used, as foundations at least, in the doorways of the upper building.

Numerous small pottery fragments and minor objects were found which require further study; but there may be singled out several the importance or meaning of which is clear. The bronze Cupid[5] came, together with other bronze fittings suggestive of Roman influence, from one of the southern chambers. The glazed figure of a female, clearly of the local type, was found, like the granite stela aforementioned, in the body of the mound. So, too, was a complete water trough or tank, decorated at each end with the head of a lion,[6] recalling the lion-tank lying near the Lower Palace in the far-off Hittite capital in Asia Minor. Other objects were a small bronze image of Isis and Horus, of the well-known Egyptian model; and another figure, carved in stone, but badly broken, representing Isis seated with the youthful Horus, as in the other case, upon her knees. From these evidences Mr. Griffith has concluded, with obvious reason, that the temple was probably dedicated to the Egyptian goddess.

[1] Lower part of Pl. XIV; also Pl. XVI. ii and Pl. XV. iii.

[2] Cf. one of the altars in court 269 of the Temple of Amon.

[3] Shown by the cross-hatching in Pl. XIV.

[4] Cf. Pl. XV. ii.

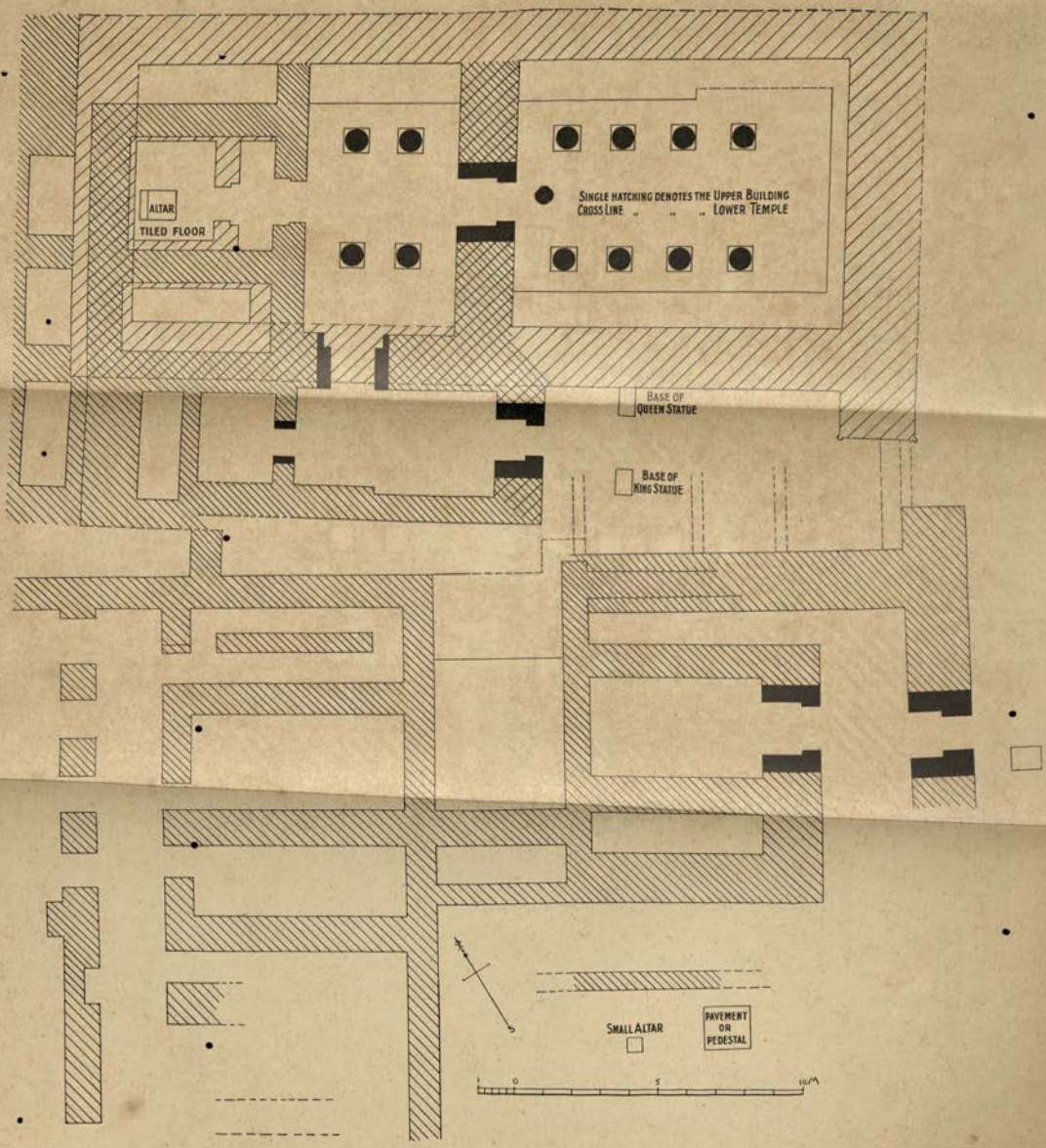
[5] Pl. XVIII. v.

[6] Cf. Pl. XVIII. iv.

These finds may, however, seem trifling as compared with the discovery of the two great columnar statues.[1] The several portions of these had been thrown down to make solid bases upon which to build up later columns. Their pedestals were in line, and in every way seemed to remain in an original position, but as one of the statues would thus have faced a wall of the main temple, this is hardly credible, unless indeed we are dealing with three superposed buildings and periods, of which there is some room for suspicion. However that may be, the portions of the statues, fitted together, revealed an Ethiopian king and queen, the former distinguished by being painted red, the latter black. They formed portions of massive stone columns, to which they were 'engaged', after the manner of the well-known columns of the rock-sanctuary of Napata at Gebel Barkal,[2] and while lacking any features of aesthetic beauty, they are admirable examples of the local decorative art in architecture.

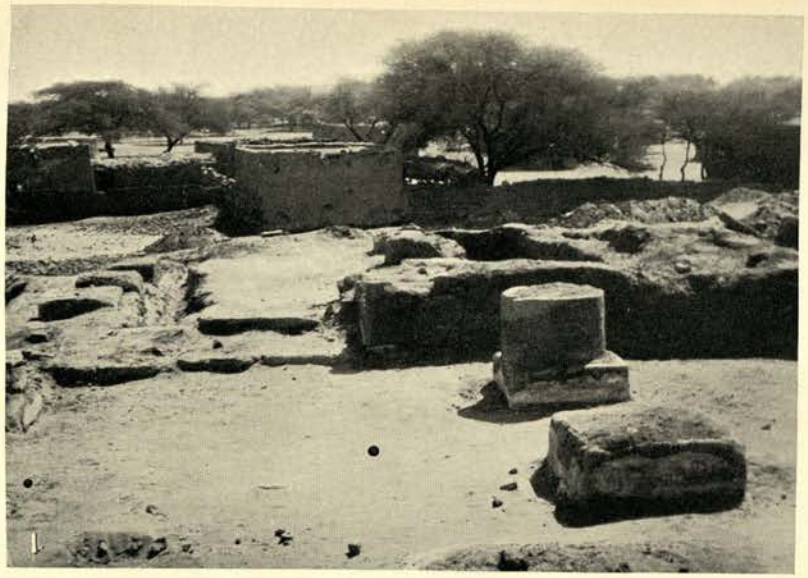
[1] Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII. i, ii, iii.

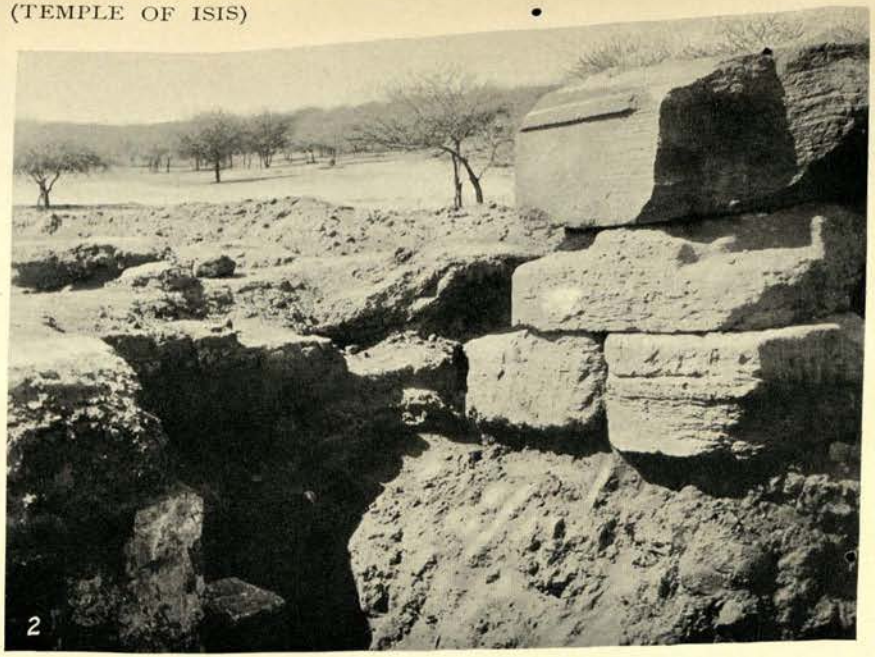
[2] Cf. Ward, *Our Sudan* (London, 1905), p. 67, fig. 3.

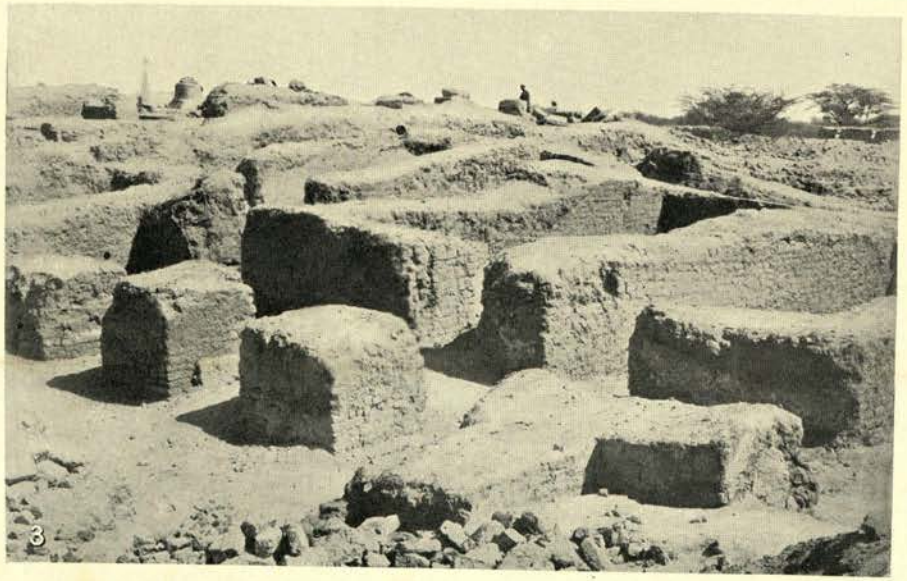


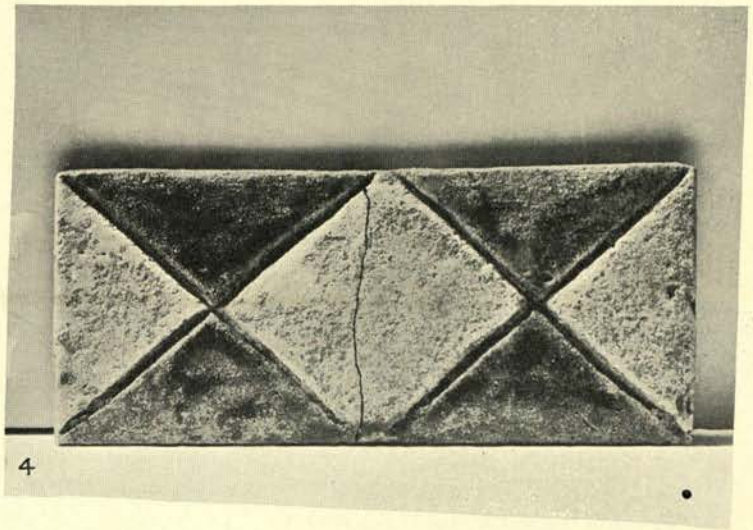
PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF ISIS CALLED THE KENISEH, SITE Nº. 600

PLATE XIV



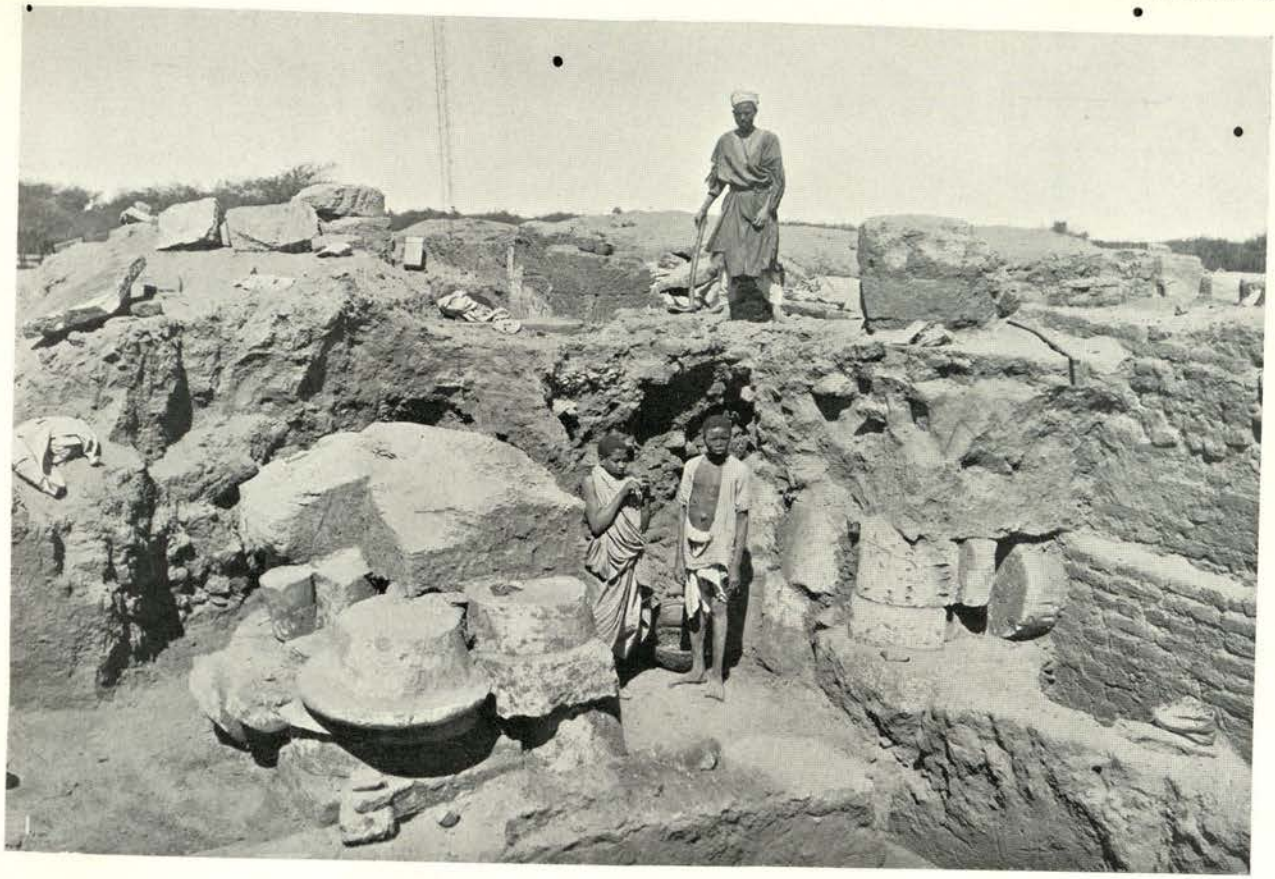




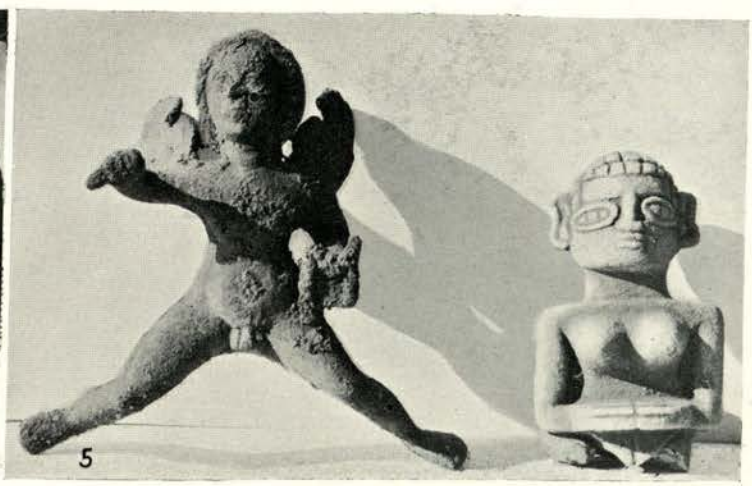


1. View of upper hall looking E. 2. Altar and foundations looking NE. 3. View of SW. corner. 4. Glazed tile from the sanctuary (scale 1 : 2).

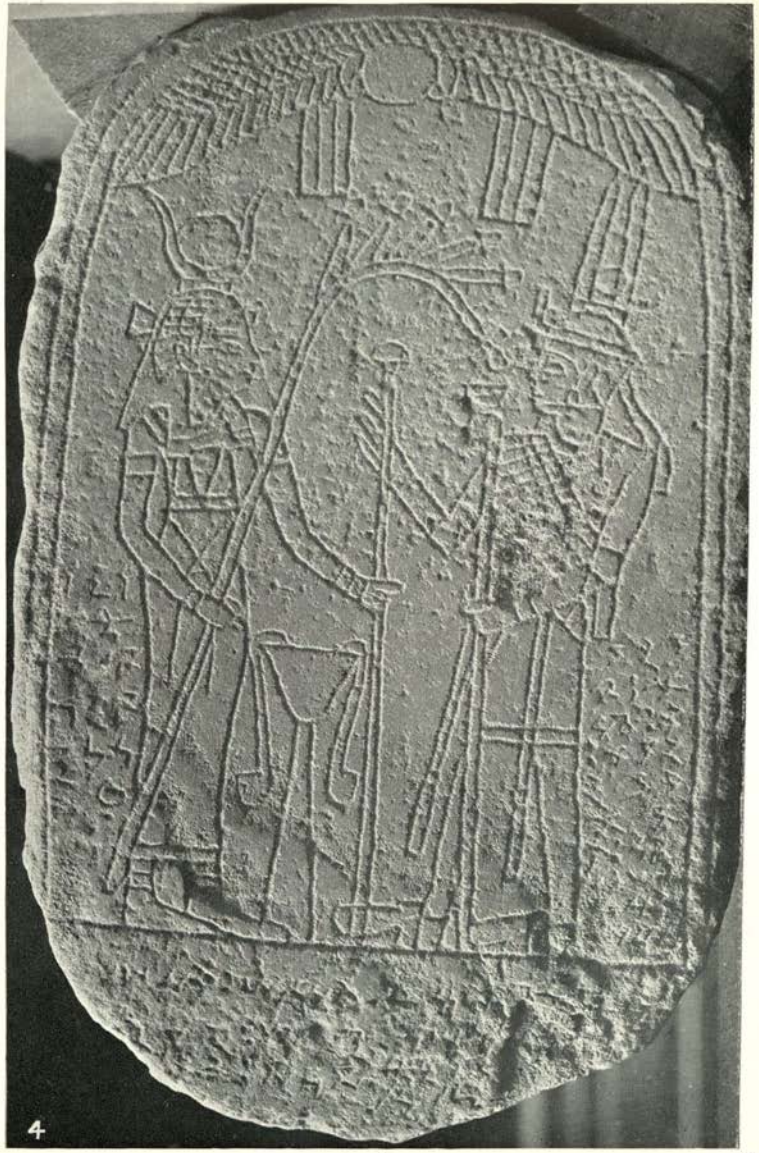
1. View showing the superposed buildings, NE. corner.
2. View showing the southern chambers (from the same point).



1. Discovery of the royal statues re-used as pedestals.
2. Site of the royal statues after excavation.



1. The queen statue (separated from its column).
2. Head of the king statue.
3. Head of the queen statue.
4. Lion head from tank (width 70 cms.).
5. Bronze cupid and faience figure (scale 1 : 2).



1. Graffito (11) from the Lion-temple (No. 6). 2. Graffiti and cursive inscription (13) from the steps in the Temple of Amon, Spot No. 275. 3. Graffito cursive inscription (14) from boundary wall of the Temple of Amon (260). 4. Granite stela (12) showing the king before Isis, from the Kenîseh (6).

CHAPTER V

THE LION-TEMPLE

With Plates XX–XXVII

The excavation of the small temple numbered 6 in the Map (Pl. II) was mostly of interest from the inscribed objects and carvings of considerable variety that were found within its walls and in its foundations. The building itself[1] was of the Meroïtic style, covering the top of a mound, and approached from the desert to the east by a slope and a flight of steps. The mound itself was one of a kind which freely abound in this locality, being largely composed, it would seem, of the refuse and products of iron-working and similar industries. The surface of such mounds is freely covered with black stone-like slag 'left from a very imperfect refining of iron ore',[2] and the great quantity of such slag strewn about is evidence of very extensive workings continued through several centuries. In this mound the deposit of such slag and refuse was quite a metre in depth, and numerous broken objects of faïence, &c., were found in it. The whole mound was surrounded by a low retaining or boundary wall, which seems to have been built of stones removed from some other structure, for many of them were sculptured with interesting reliefs,[3] though there was no sequence or arrangement to the scenes. A relatively narrow space separated this wall from the main structure; this consisted of two columned chambers, fronted by a pylon of red brick, the corners of which were moulded, as in the case of the Sun-temple and of the Kentseh just described.

The flight of steps which gave access to the chambers was guarded on either hand by a seated lion[4] carved in soft stone. One of the lions had been removed from its pedestal, but was found in the interior of the building.[5] Another lion in stone,[6] two smaller emblems of lions,[7] and an inscribed plaque dedicated to the lion-god,[8] were all found within the building, and hence lead to the surmise that the temple was devoted to the propitiation of the lion-god, a conjecture which its position on the edge of the desert just outside the city would seem to justify.[9]

[1] Pl. XX.

[2] Letter from Mr. William Burton, M.A., F.C.S., Director and Manager of Messrs. Pilkington's Tile and Pottery Co., July 11, 1910.

[3] See Pl. XXI. v, vi. Upon one slab not shown in the illustrations there was a 'graffito' drawing of a frog, seated, wearing a collar—a curious representation.

[4] See Pl. XXI. i.

[5] See Pl. XXI. iii.

[6] See Pl. XXI. iv.

[7] Pl. XXII. ii.

[8] Frontispiece.

[9] Cf. Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia* (London, 1835), p. 84 et seqq.

Among the sculptures in the round, the two representations of bound captives[1] are carved with considerable skill and sense of proportion. One of the captives is shown with a pig-tail. The motive of the sculptures was clearly popular, as it is found done in relief upon the walls of a small shrine on the west side of the city,[2] and in other instances. Three smaller objects, however, give a more favourable impression of the Ethiopians' skill in plastic work. The first of these forms the subject of the frontispiece. It is a plaque of fine laminated stone like red slate, carved in delicate false relief after the Egyptian tradition, and inscribed with several small panels of Meroitic writing incised in the cursive style.[3] On the one face there is shown the king wearing a complex crown, and clad in a long decorated robe. Fortunately the face of the monarch is not disfigured by the cracks and flaws in the object, and to judge from the minute details of treatment there can be little room for doubt but that it is a work of portraiture, while conforming closely with familiar Egyptian conventions. The other side shows the lion-headed god, wearing a similar crown, but clad in a short skirt with broad ornamented waist-band, with a collar of beads and jewels similar, no doubt, to one originally to be seen upon its counterpart. He carries a sceptre, upon the top of which there may be noted the emblem of a seated lion. A second object specially noteworthy is a statuette of a king carved in dark stone,[4] presumably basalt. It is not, perhaps, so pleasing in finish and quality of workmanship as the photograph suggests. The modelling is done, however, with a certain freedom and knowledge of anatomy, untrammelled by too rigid convention, that give a lifelike feeling to the piece. This effect, well supported by the treatment of the face, wherein the Egyptian conventions of drawing are altogether disregarded, whether by accident or by intention, imparts to the work a sense of faithful portraiture coupled with a quiet dignity well befitting the royal model. A more curious object is carved in hard wood, representing the pylon of a temple with a dial below.[5] Possibly a vertical dial placed upon a temple wall in the locality suggested the subject of this model, which has several points of special interest apart from the details of its execution.

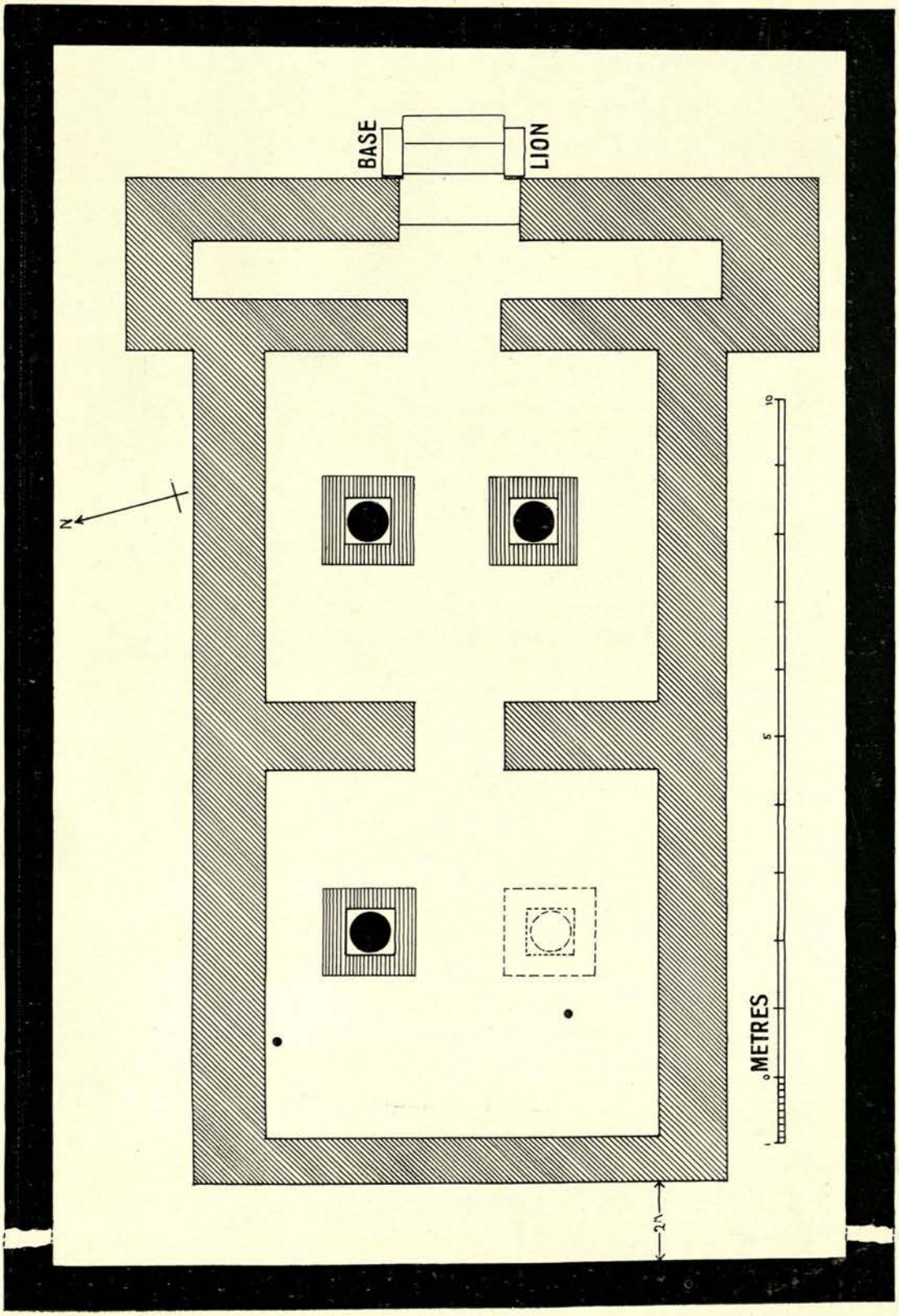
Among the minor objects yielded up on this fruitful spot were several of the large seals of faïence[6] of the kind found in the temple of Amon. That of which the back view is shown in our photograph was decorated with a simple geometric design of adjoining squares and diagonals; and others, more fragmentary, were nearer the styles of those reproduced. The glazed surface was usually very brittle and fire cracked; the colour was uniformly pale blue, and the paste not very hard. The bronze tie-emblem shown in the same photograph was unique of its kind, and is specially to be noted in connexion with the mould-matrixes already mentioned, which were found not uncommonly in various sites. Indeed, some of these moulds, like one of those found at the foot of the high altar in the temple

[1] Pl. XXI. ii, vii. [2] Cf. Pl. XIII. i. [4] See Pl. XXII. iii.
[3] For these see below, p. 62, No. 5. [5] Pl. XXII. i. [6] Pl. XXII. iv.

of Amon,[1] must have been designed for forming emblems very similar to that in question.

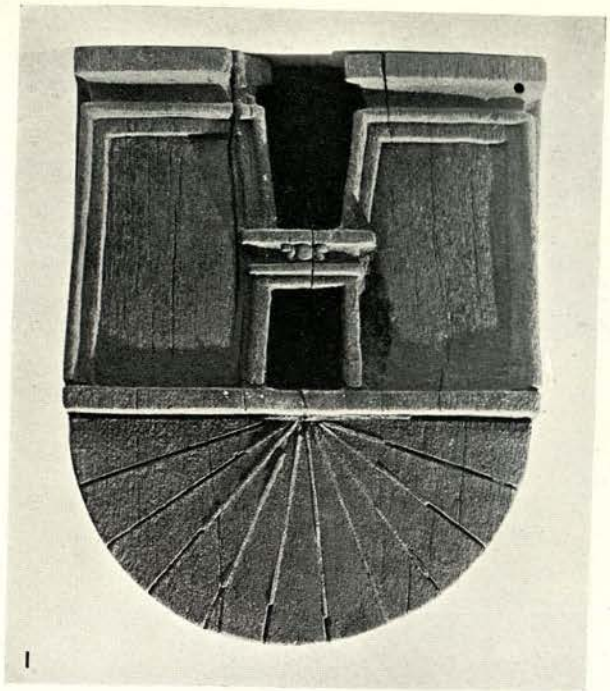
The best Meroitic inscriptions in the cursive style were also found in this small temple. These include a fine stela,[2] with eighteen lines of incised writing almost perfectly preserved. In a later chapter Mr. Griffith shows that in this text the lion-god Apezemak seems to replace Osiris in association with Isis and Horus. There is a second stela of finer workmanship,[3] but done unfortunately upon a more perishable stone, and imperfectly preserved. It had been inscribed on both sides, and the traces of a cartouche may still be made out upon the side which has most suffered. Three other squared stones[4] give several continuous bands of inscription around each, and they presumably formed part of a built-up monument carrying some important record. One of these pieces was found near the steps in the entrance,[5] but whether in its original situation is doubtful. Two of the pieces, like the bulk of the objects described, had been certainly disturbed, and the impression remained after the excavation that the various relics and monuments in the temple had in this case been tossed about and considerably mutilated.

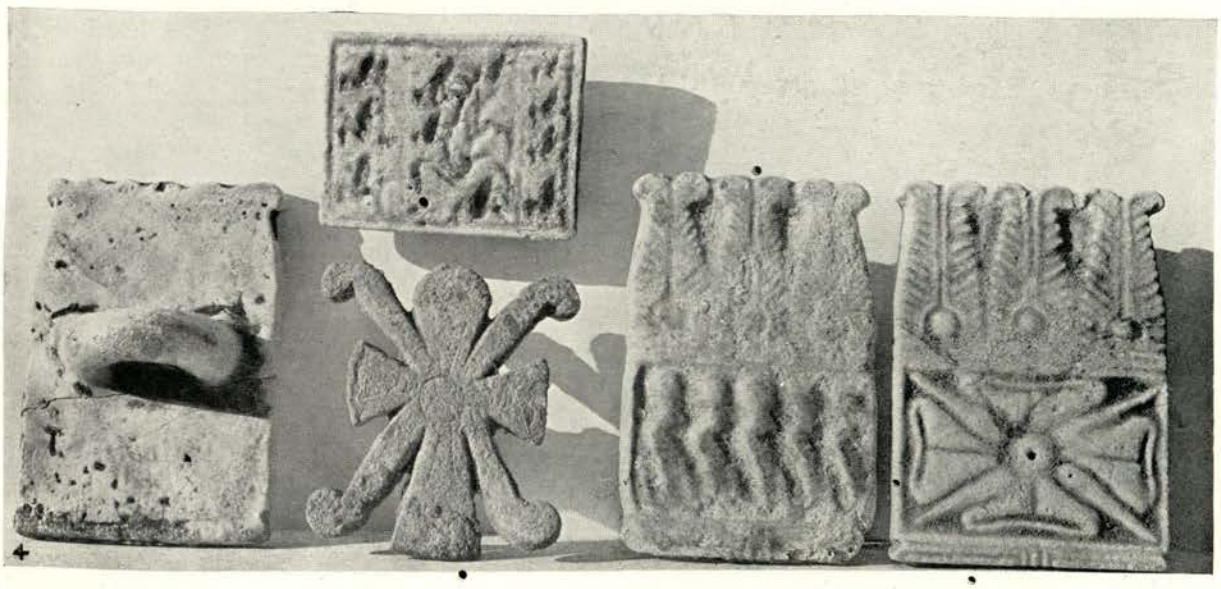
[1] Pl. X. iv.
[2] Pl. XXIV. See also ch. ix, No. 7.
[3] Pl. XXIII. i, ii.
[4] Pls. XXV–XXVII.
[5] Cf. Pl. XXI. i.



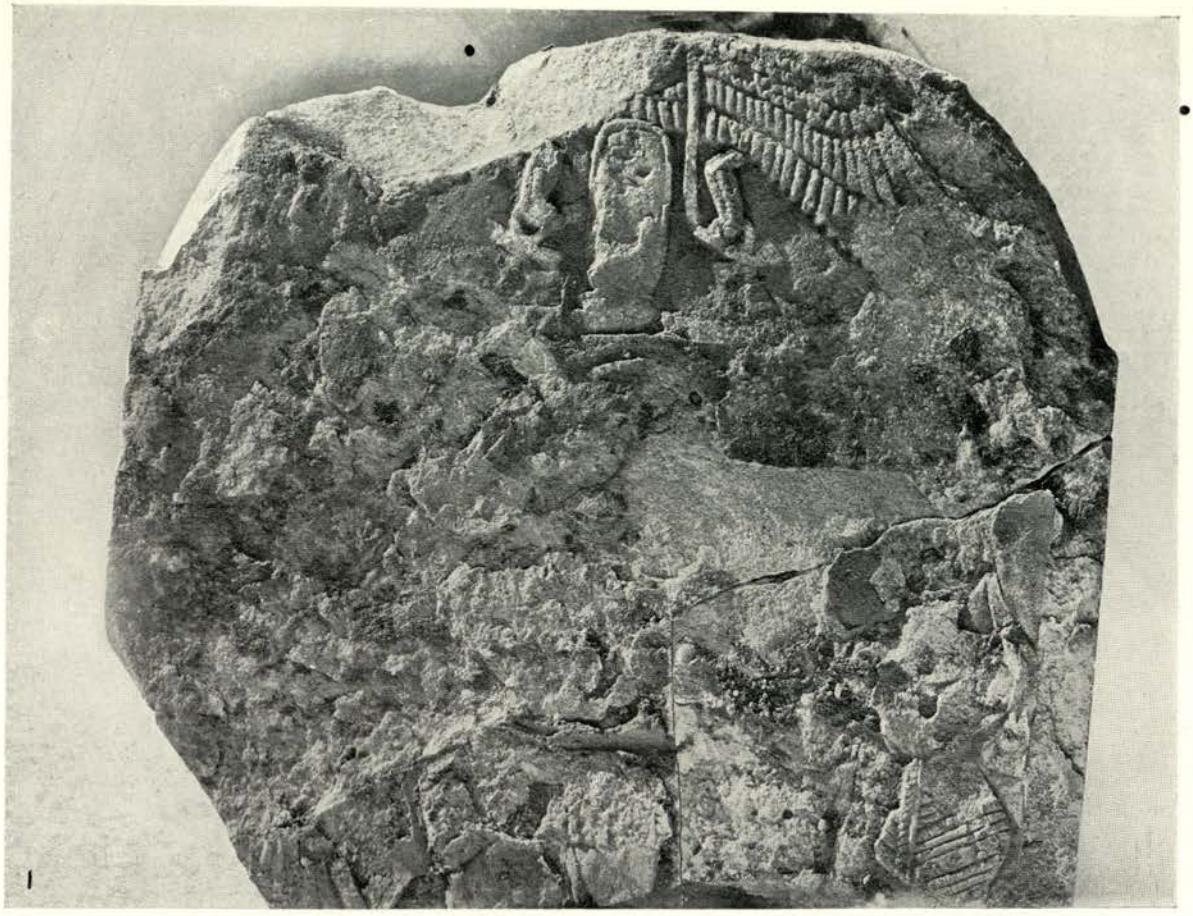
PLAN OF THE LION TEMPLE (SITE Nº 6)

1. View of entrance, showing steps, lion, and inscribed pillar. 2. Statue of a kneeling captive (height 50 cms.). 3. The second lion from the entrance (length 70 cms.). 4. Small lion from within the building. 5, 6. Fragmentary reliefs from enclosing wall. 7. Statue of a bound captive (height 53 cms.).





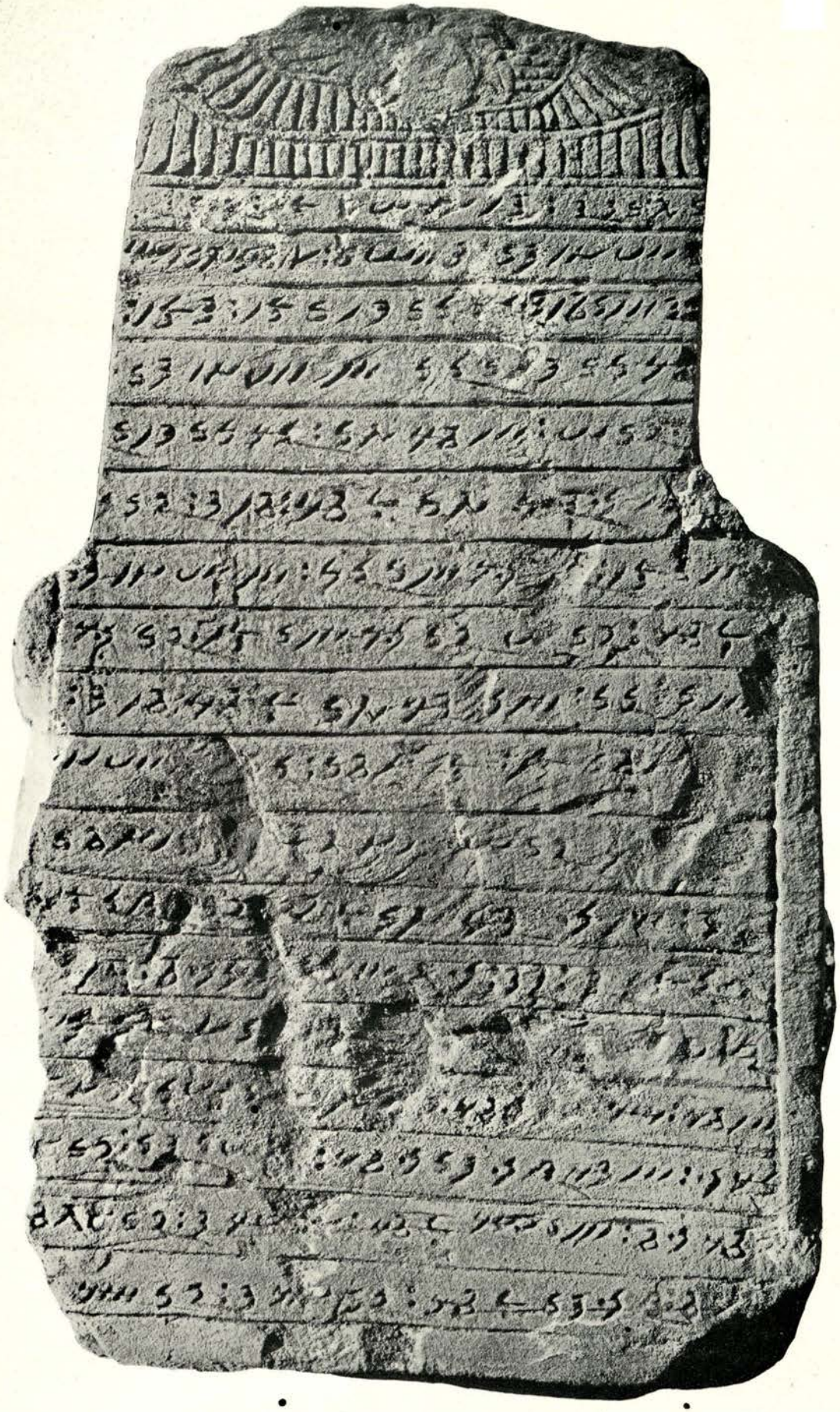
1. Wooden model of temple-pylon with dial. (Scale 1 : 1.)
2. Two small lion emblems. (Scale 2 : 3.) 3. Royal figure in basalt. (Scale 2 : 3.)
4. Glazed seals and bronze moulded ornament. [From spots : $6\{^{264}_{6}\}$, 266, 269.] (Scale 1 : 2.)



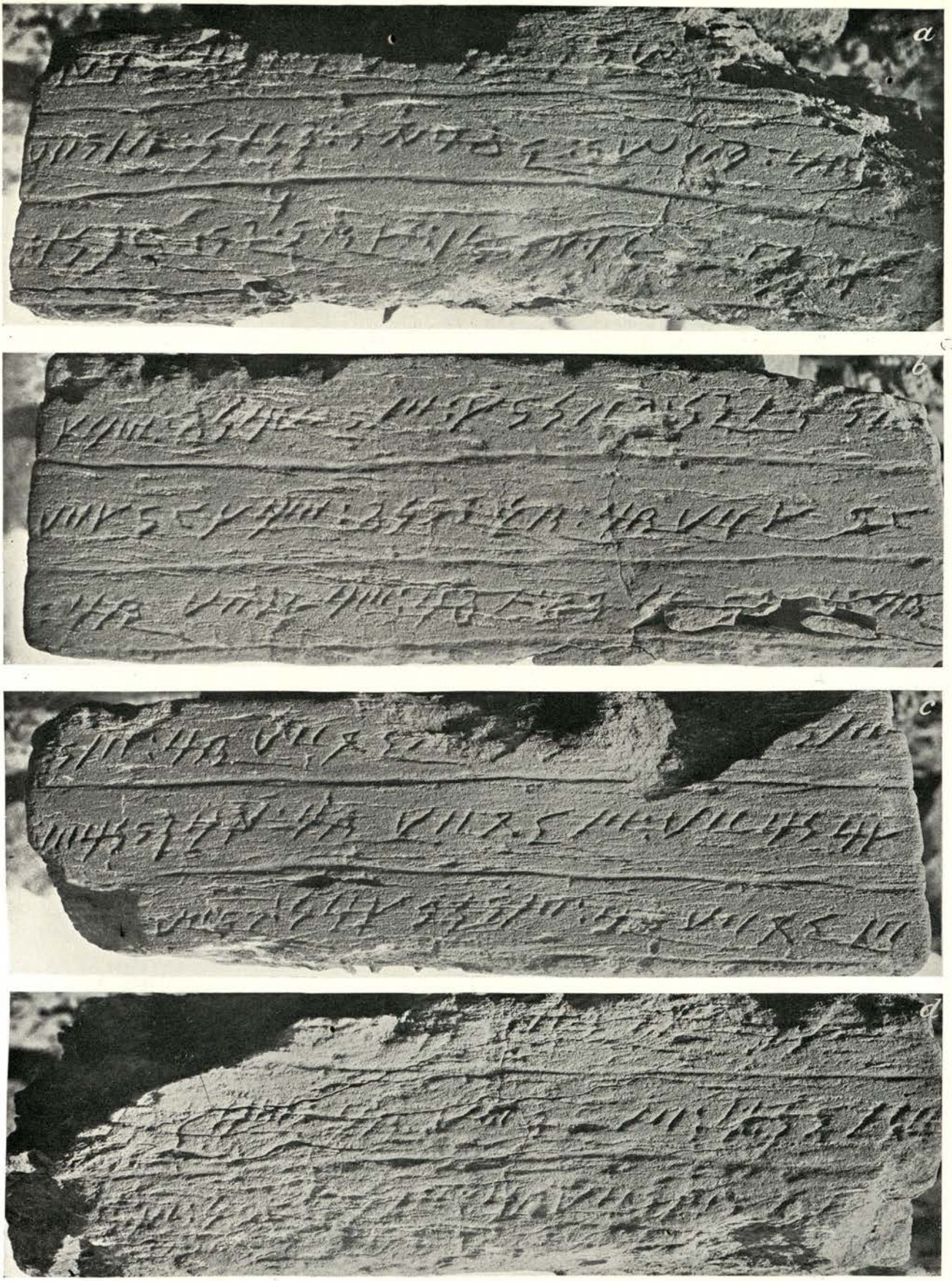
1

2

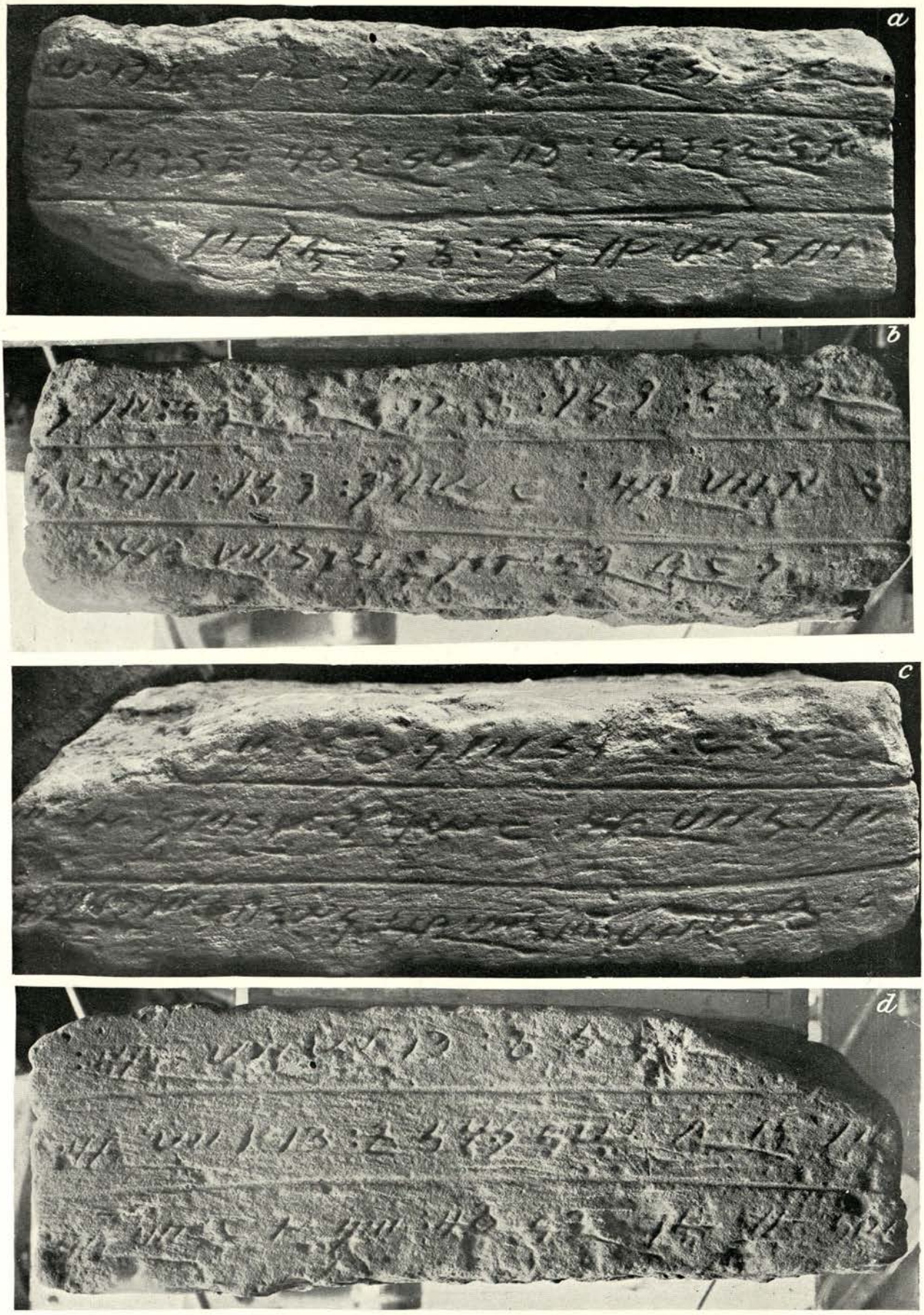
Obverse and reverse of inscribed stela (no. 6) in early style.



Face of an inscribed stela (no. 7) of later style in which the Lion-God seems to replace Osiris in association with Isis and Horus.



Four sides of a pedestal inscribed with three bands of cursive writing (Inscription no. 8).



Four sides of a second square pedestal (Inscription no. 9).

Four sides of a third square pedestal (Inscription no. 10).

CHAPTER VI

THE SUN-TEMPLE

With Plates XXVIII–XXXV

The plan and sections of the Sun-temple[1] are almost self-explanatory. The main entrance to the enclosure was from the east. The wall of the enclosure was built of baked brick, with stone facing at the doorways, as in the case of the temple of Amon. Outside the enclosing wall, almost in the axis of approach, there were two small ruined kiosks not shown in this plan. Inside, a sloping ramp led up to the platform, upon which was built a cloister, running entirely around and enclosing the sanctuary. The outer wall of this platform had been decorated with a series of sculptures and inscriptions. On the façade to the east were cartouches of prisoners. The names on the left-hand side of the approach had been filled in, the characters used being Meroitic hieroglyphs,[2] but the cartouches on the opposite side had been left blank. The signs had been outlined on the stone and finished upon the stucco with which the stone was faced. On the south wall the subject was chiefly the spearing of an enemy,[3] doubtless commemorative of some victory. On the western or back wall the reliefs are not continuous or well preserved, but pictures of horse-riders may be distinguished. On the north side a fortress was shown with native houses and trees, and towards these the royal conqueror in his chariot[4] is moving in a formal progress, accompanied by his infantry.

The sanctuary is approached, as the plan shows, by an ascent of nine steps, which are made of dark sandstone,[5] in distinction to the light stone uniformly employed throughout the structure. The floor, and probably the sides, of this chamber had been covered with plain glazed tiles of two different colours, arranged in alternate rows,[6] of which a considerable portion remained in position.[7] Possibly some of the wall tiles, which were uniformly pale blue in colour, and rather fragile, bore a decoration of some kind in low relief. There had also been an altar of dark sandstone, of much the same character as those found in the temple of Amon, but it was broken in pieces; and a great hole had been dug at the western end of this sanctuary, probably by plunderers in search of treasure. The emblem of

[1] Pl. XXVIII.

[2] See Pl. XXXIV, and below, p. 58.

[3] See Pl. XXXII. ii.

[4] See Pl. XXXIII. i.

[5] See Pl. XXXI. ii.

[6] One certainly blue-green, the other probably yellow.

[7] See Pl. XXXII. i.

the cult, a large solar disk, was found amid the ruins of the western wall of the sanctuary, into which it seems to have been built facing to the east. On either side of the approach to this central chamber there were considerable inscriptions,[1] seemingly in Meroitic hieroglyphs.[2] On the nearer side of the corridor that surrounded the sanctuary there had been also certain sculptures, and that on the right hand was recovered in large measure. On it there was preserved the face of a royal personage and three cartouches.[3] This carving was full and even decorative in treatment,[4] and in this respect seemed to differ from that which decorated the main walls of the platform. It is probably an addition, and possibly marks a period of restoration, for in the western side of the court or temenos there were recovered numerous small fragments of a stela of granite, bearing the name of King Aspelut, whose date presumably was about B.C. 625–600.[5] The temple must therefore have been already constructed in his time. A further carving on the west wall of the corridor is noteworthy;[6] it showed the feet of the conqueror standing over the forms of eight bound captives (shown on a much smaller scale), one of whom wears a head-dress very suggestive at first sight of a Grecian helmet.[7]

Contemporary domestic architecture seems to be illustrated by a building found inside the enclosure of the Sun-temple to the south.[8] Possibly it was the priests' house: the platform gained by a flight of steps near the eastern entrance may have been the floor of a bedroom, removed in this way from danger of scorpions which are plentiful; but we cannot explain the two chambers which seem to be without doorways, except as foundations for an upper structure. The wall was preserved to rather more than a metre in height.[9]

[1] See Pl. XXXV. ii.

[2] On this point, however, see below, p. 62, No. 4.

[3] See Pl. XXXV. i. On the reading of these see below, p. 60.

[4] See Pl. XIII. ii for a bust in the same style, possibly a portion of this monument.

[5] A king of the same name, possibly even the same person, appears some years later in the records of Ptolemy IV.

[6] The corridor surrounding the central chamber was divided from the cloistered platform only by a low wall (cf. Pl. XXVIII, section AB); hence these sculptures would be visible from below.

[7] See Pl. XXXIII. iii. A fragment of a small sculpture in stone was found in the possession of one of the local people, showing a captive in the same position of captivity, with elbows and wrists bound together behind, and the foot of the conqueror upon his back.

[8] See Pl. XXIX and Pl. XXXIII. iv.

[9] It may be of interest to note the axial inclinations to magnetic north of the various temples and buildings that have been described. These are:—

Sun-temple (250): 107°
Lion temple (no. 6): 111°
Kenîseh (600): 125°
„ south structure: 119°
Amon temple (250): 117°·30
„ „ fore-kiosk: 116°·30

NOTE ON 'THE TABLE OF THE SUN'

BY PROFESSOR SAYCE

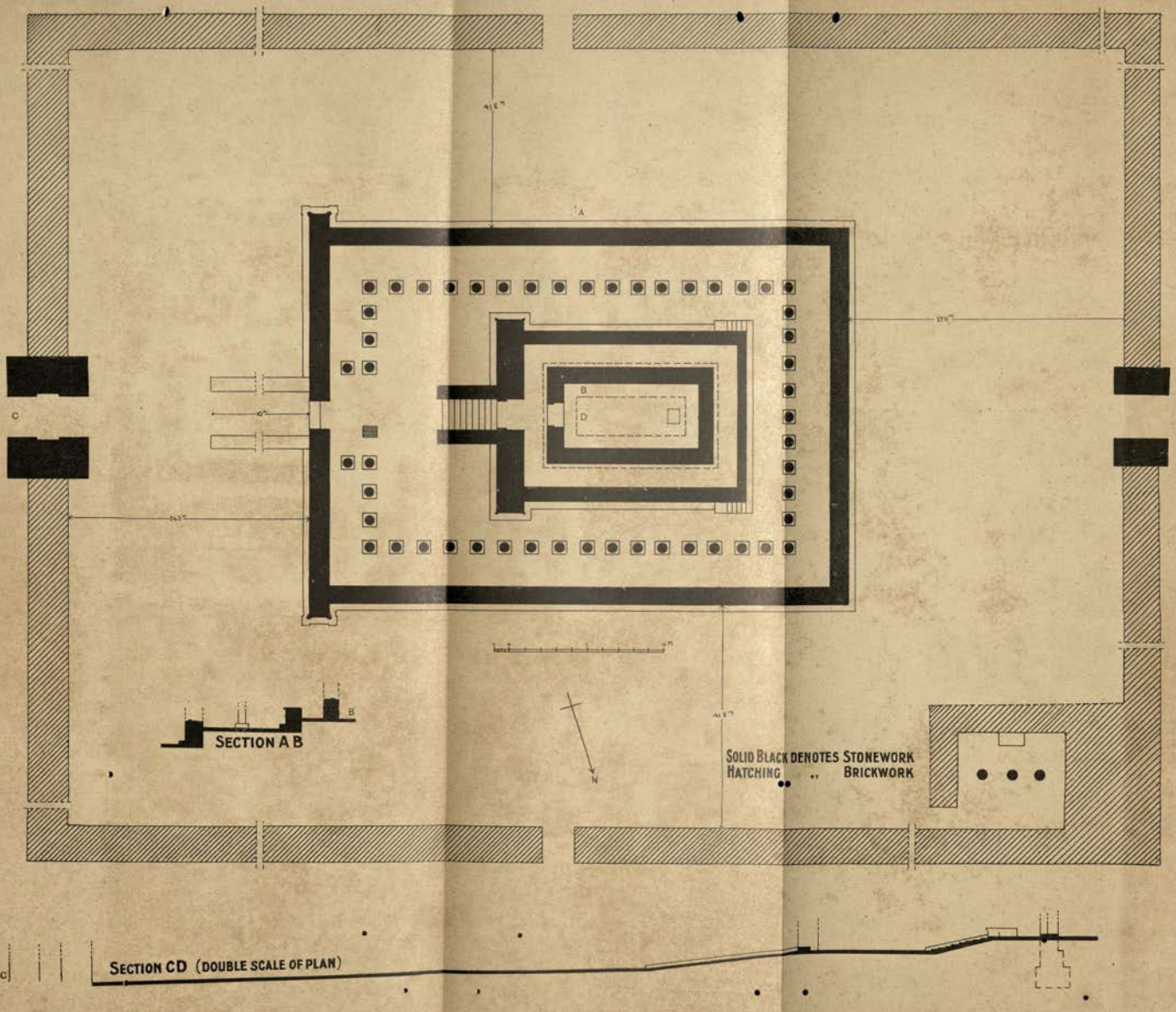
'Herodotus (iii. 17, 18) tells us that before sending an army into Ethiopia Cambyses dispatched ambassadors who were instructed to make inquiries about "The table of the Sun". This table, he goes on to say, was as follows: "There is a meadow in the suburb of the city full of the boiled flesh of all kinds of animals, in which those of the citizens who hold office are careful to place the meat at night, while during the day any one who likes can come and eat it. The natives declare that the earth itself produces the food on each occasion. Such, then, is what is called the table of the Sun."

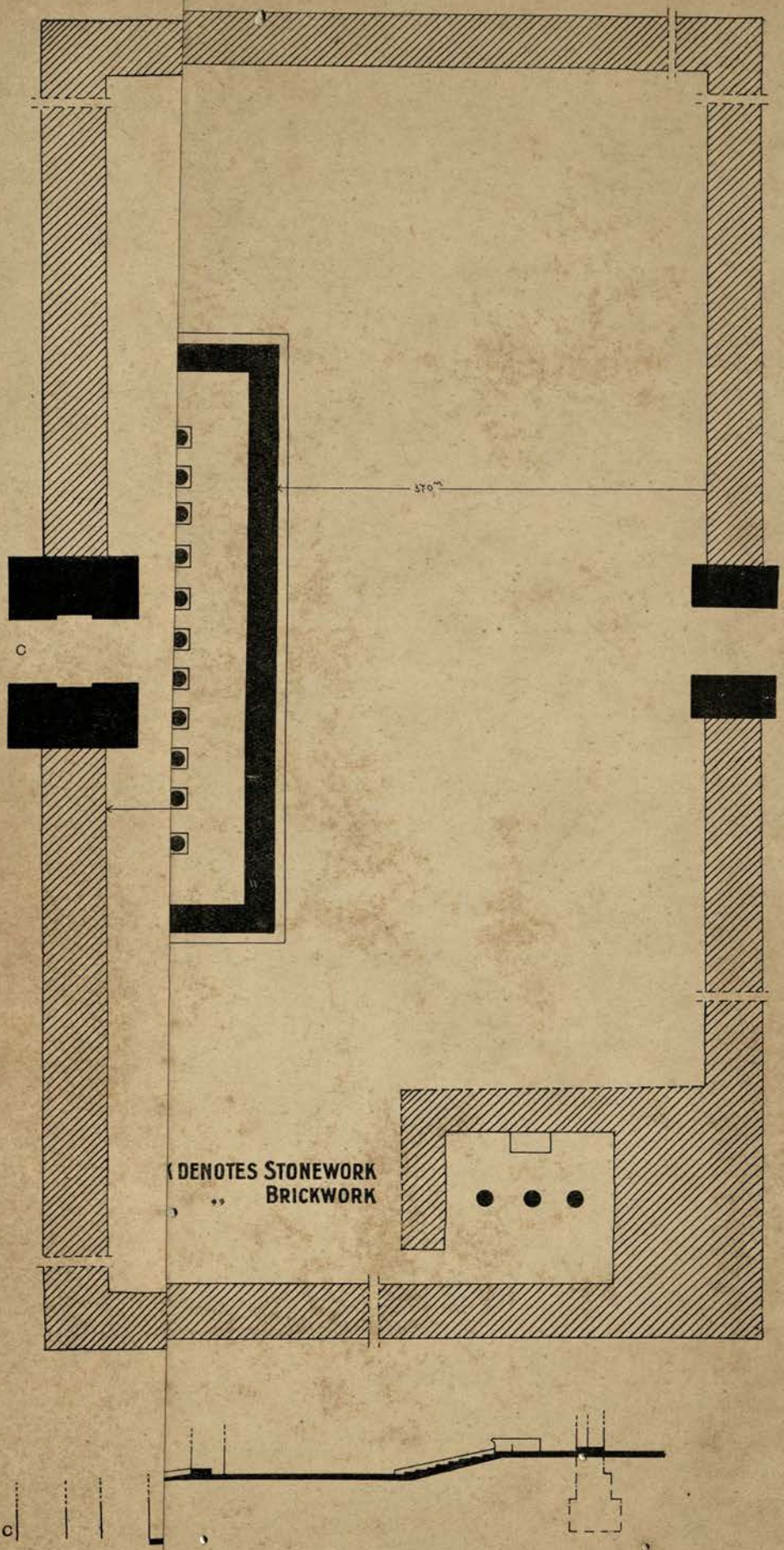
'The "meadow in the suburb of the city" corresponds with the *khor* on the south side of the ruins of Meroë, which is filled with verdure during the rainy season, and at other times of the year is green with shrubs and coarse grass. It thus answers exactly to what the Greeks termed a "meadow". Since the Sun-temple stood "in the suburb of the city", on the very edge of the *khor*, the origin of the story becomes evident. Here on the topmost terrace under the open sky was the altar on which were placed the meats offered to the deity. To transfer these to the *khor* below was no difficult feat for the travelled Greek.

'But the fact shows that already in the time of Herodotus, that is to say in the fifth century before our era, the Greeks were acquainted with the Ethiopian capital. Indeed, we can carry back their acquaintance with it to an even earlier period. At the very dawn of Greek literature the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* make the gods go each year to feast in the land of the Ethiopians, while the *Iliad* also knows that the land to which the cranes of Asia Minor migrate in the winter is a land inhabited by the Pygmies. In the legend of the yearly festival of the gods we seem to have either an echo of the story of the table of the Sun or a story that is closely connected with it. We can thus explain the Naukratite influence traceable in some of the Meroitic pottery, as well as the strikingly Greek character of the bas-reliefs on the exterior walls of the Sun-temple, which nevertheless was built three centuries before the age of Alexander the Great. Greek trade with Meroë must go back to a comparatively early period.

'As the beginnings of Greek literature are connected with the Sun-temple at Meroë, so too is one of its latest productions. This is the novel of Heliodorus, usually known as the *Aethiopica*. Like most modern novels it ends happily with the wedding of the hero and heroine, who turns out to be the daughter of the Ethiopian king. In the description of the marriage procession it is expressly stated that flowers were strewn in the path of the bridal pair. In the bas-reliefs representing the triumphal procession of the king, on the north wall of the Sun-temple, men strewing the ground with lotus-blossoms are similarly seen running in front of the royal chariot. We are reminded of the passage in the Gospels which described how, when Christ entered Jerusalem, the multitude cut palm-branches from the trees and "strewed them in the way".'

PLAN OF THE SUN-TEMPLE




370'
C
DENOTES STONEWORK
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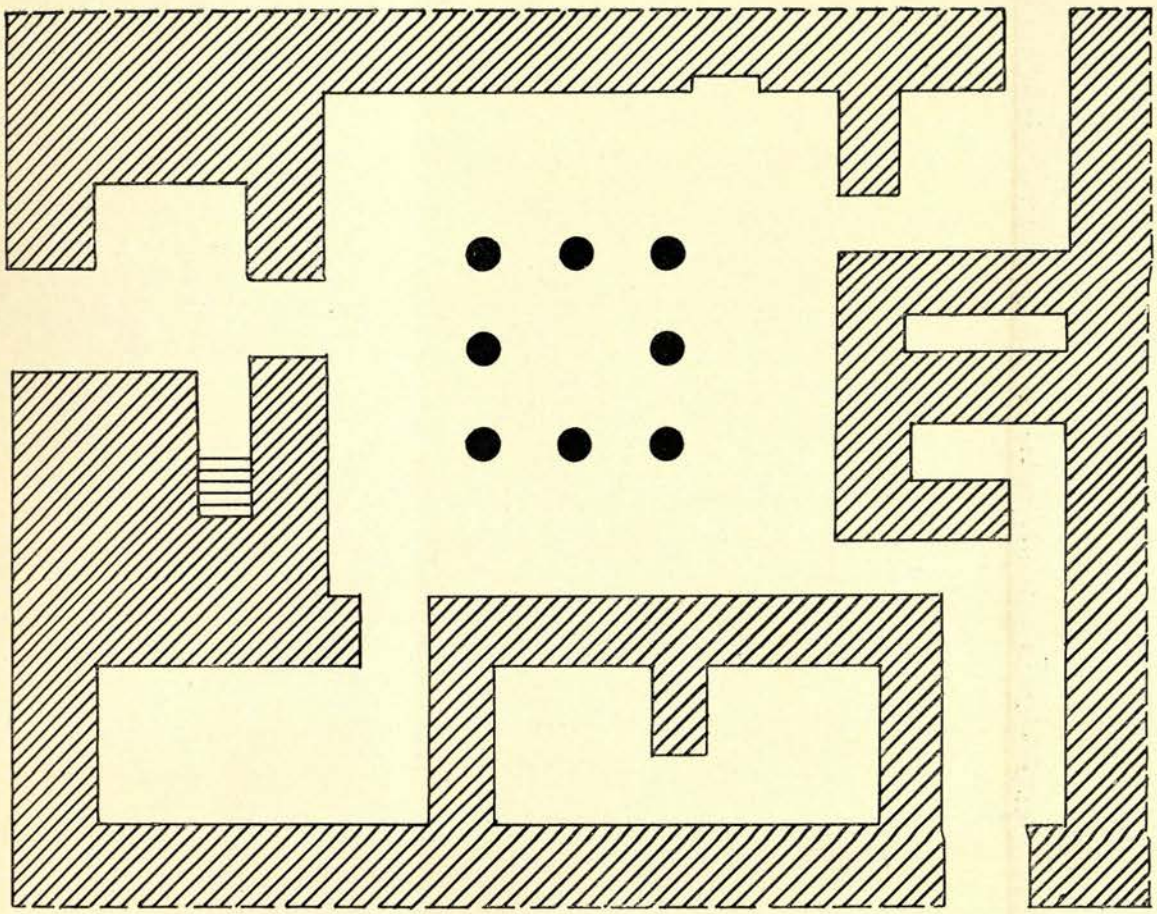
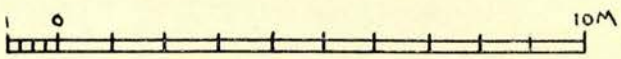
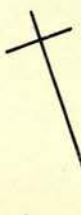






SOLID BLACK DENOTES STONEWORK
HATCHING ,, BRICKWORK

SOUTH WALL OF SUN TEMPLE

PLAN OF A DWELLING HOUSE INSIDE THE ENCLOSURE OF THE SUN TEMPLE

THE SUN-TEMPLE

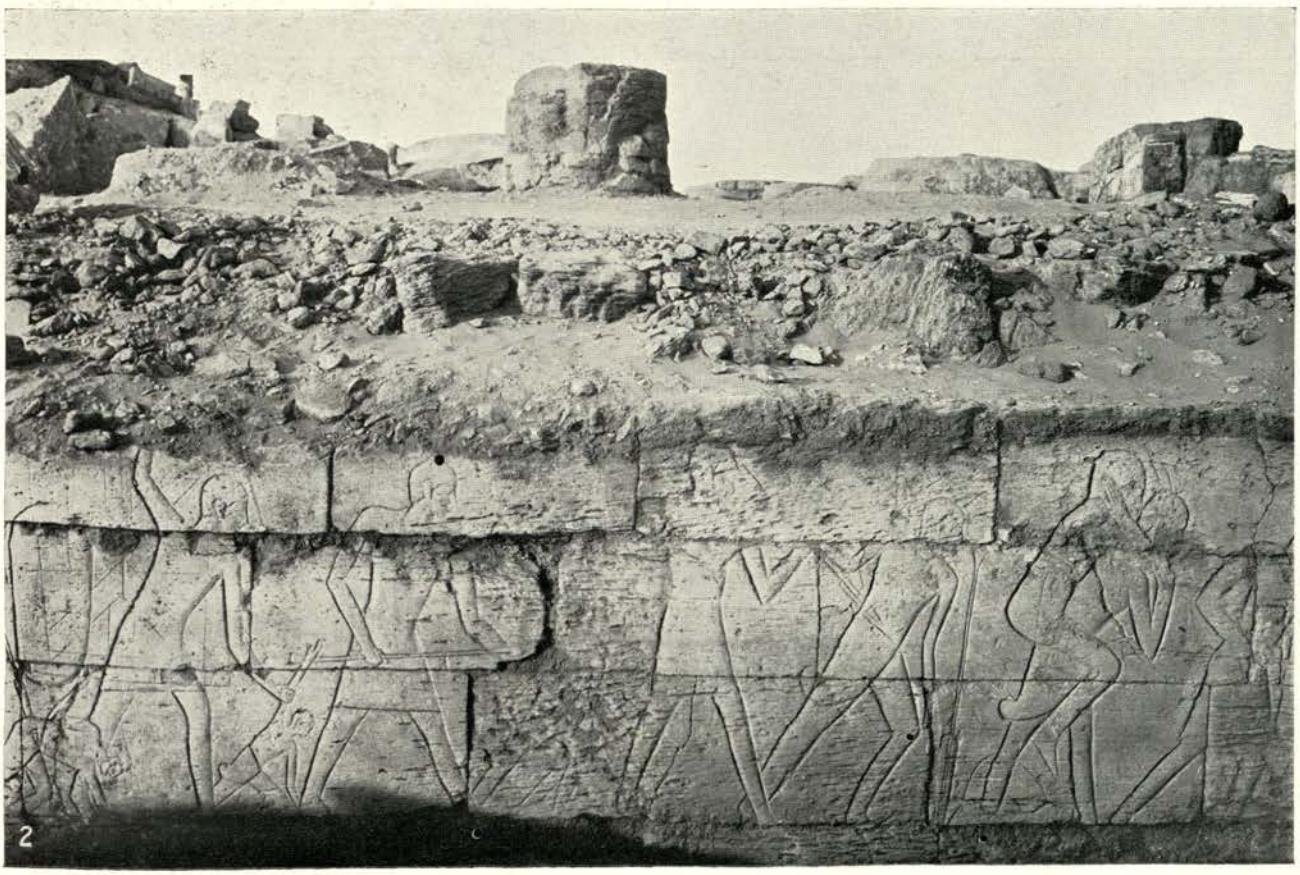
1. View from NE. at the commencement of excavation.

2. View from SW. during progress of excavation.

THE SUN-TEMPLE

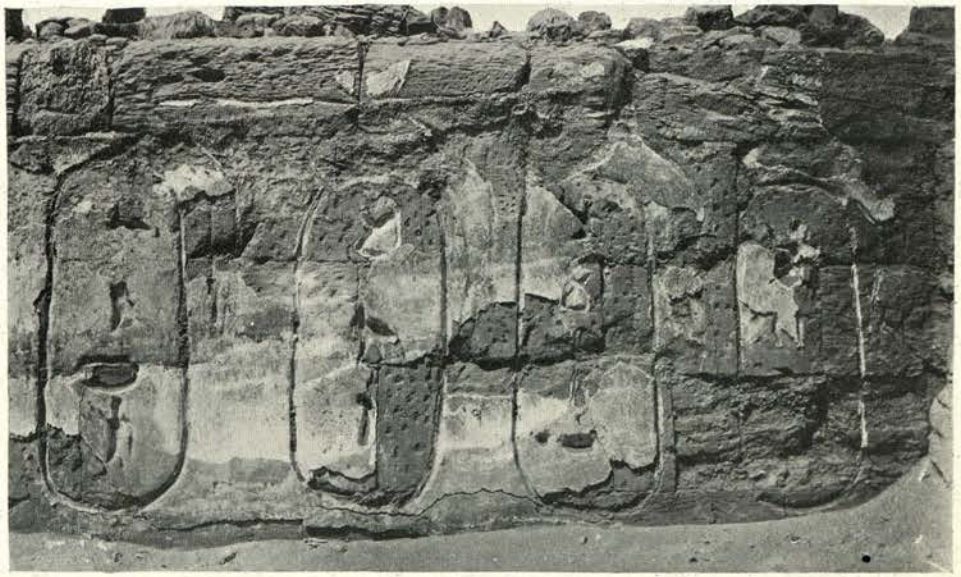
1. View from NE. after excavation, showing the entrance (1).

2. The steps and inscribed entrance to the sanctuary.

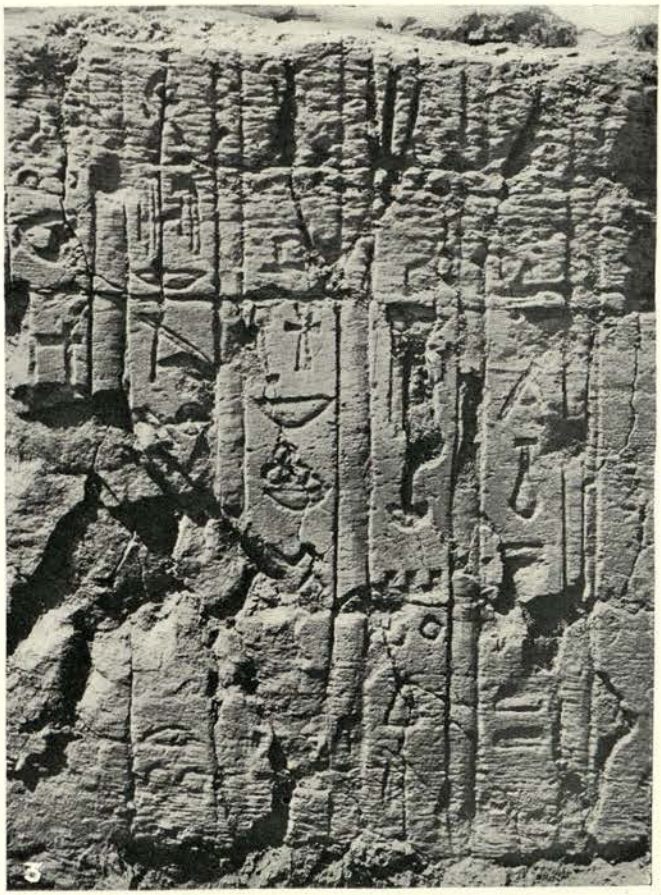


1. Glazed floor of the sanctuary. [The ring of stones was placed by the excavators for protection. Note also the plastered walls, and a fragment of the altar at right back corner.]
2. Scene of victory decorating the southern wall.

1. The royal progress, N. wall. 2. Detail of armour, S. wall. 3. Prisoners beneath the foot of the conqueror, W. wall. 4. View of priest's house looking SW.



Cartouches inscribed in Meroitic hieroglyphs from the south side of eastern façade.
Above: Inscriptions 9–17. Below: Inscriptions 1–7.



1. Three cartouches in hieroglyphs (Inscription no. 2) and face of a king. 2, 3. Inscriptions (nos. 4 *a*, 4 *b*) in hieroglyphs from the doorway of the sanctuary.

CHAPTER VII

THE NECROPOLIS

Preliminary Note upon the General Characteristics of the Burial Customs and Funerary Deposits. (With Plates XXXVI–XL.)

The necropolis of Meroë lay in the desert immediately eastward of the city. Further to the east are the three groups of pyramids, and it is interesting to notice that the area covered by the tombs is divided by surface features into three portions. These dividing marks, it is true, may be of comparatively modern formation, being only depressions in the sand formed by the scour of summer rains; but considering the uniform climate of the country it is not impossible that they date from the same antiquity as the tombs. Our investigations have, in fact, shown that these physical depressions do correspond to a certain extent with distinctions of structure and burial customs.

By reference to the map on Plate II it may be seen that the boundary to the necropolis on the south is a broad green depression, which reaches out into the desert beyond the position of the Sun-temple. This was certainly an ancient boundary, for no tombs are found further to the south. The most southerly tombs were also the most ancient, and they were distinguished from those of the next age both superficially and structurally: they are marked Nos. 1–99 in the plan. The second or middle group lies just northwards, and the tombs are indicated by the numbers 300–399. No well-defined landmark separates this group from that to the south, with which it is in part continuous. The distinction in this case is found in the structure of the tombs themselves. To the north the boundary is well defined, for a considerable green patch intervenes between the middle group and that beyond, and this division is emphasized by marked differences in the structure and contents of the tombs themselves. The Nos. 500 to 599 in the plan indicate the position of such tombs of the northern group as we examined; but there are others, apparently of a later post-Meroitic period, nearer to the railway, which were numbered in our books 400 to 499, though not shown upon the plan.

The general appearance of the tombs upon the surface of the desert is that of a series of low mounds. In some cases these mounds were composed wholly of sand, whereas in others, perhaps more commonly, they were covered freely with rough stones, as may be seen in Plate XXXVI. i. The tombs of the middle group were, however, with a few exceptions, of a class quite distinct in this regard, their position in the desert being marked only by a ring of small stones, hardly visible at any distance.

All the tombs of the southern group, which we regard as the oldest, were covered by mounds, whether of sand or stone, and they conformed to a standard type. The entrance was usually from the east,[1] down a rough incline two or three metres in depth. The descent might be by steep steps or by an uneven slope. At the bottom was the entrance, cut more or less cleanly in the hard gravel, and usually filled up with stones.[2] Sometimes this entrance led to two openings or doorways (as in the case cited), but in small tombs there was only one opening, and in all cases there was only one burial chamber. This was usually about four metres wide, two metres in depth, and barely high enough to stand upright near the opening: towards the back the roof sloped down gradually to meet the floor. Inside such a chamber the burial lay towards the southern end, but its exact position is not determined, for a reason which will become apparent. Around the body, particularly at the south end of the chamber, there were ranged the finer objects of the funerary deposits, such as the smaller vases of pottery, or those which were decorated, the baskets, glass or iron objects, and so forth. The northern half of the chamber was generally completely filled with a great number of the larger class of pottery vessels such as may be seen *in situ* in Plates XXXVII, XXXVIII, &c.

The central group of tombs differed chiefly in structure; in place of a mound, it has been observed, a ring of stones marked the position of the tomb. The ring was formed, in a few cases only, simply by clearing out the dark pebbles from within a circular area and placing these on the circumference thus marked out. The result was a dark circle formed by the pebbles only, thrown up in greater contrast by the removal of the dark stones from within the area.[3] In a few instances only the process was reversed, by removing the light stones from within the area and placing these around the circumference. Upon clearing out this area to a depth of about two metres there were commonly found two parallel passages, from four to six metres in length, leading westward to a pair of openings which led into the burial chamber, hewn as before in the desert gravel.[4] Sometimes a flight of steps led down from the surface to these passages, and in most cases one or other of the doors (generally that to the north) remained filled up with stones as it had been in antiquity. In some instances, notably tomb 307,[5] among the stones which closed the opening there were a considerable number of funerary altars, inscribed in Meroitic cursive style. Once inside the chamber, the grouping of objects in relation to the burial showed little distinctive variation from that of the earlier tombs, but one or two new objects made their appearance amongst the votive offerings. The inscribed stones are an example. These were freely found in this middle group,[6] while none at all were found among the southern tombs. Wooden bed-frames, chairs, weapons, baskets, and glass-work now became common, while the northern end of the tomb was still filled, as in the past, with numerous globular pottery vessels of great size.

[1] In one case only from the west (Pl. LX. iv).

[2] Cf. Pl. XXXVI.

[3] Cf. Pl. XXXIX. i; tomb 303.

[4] See Pls. XXXIX, XL.

[5] See Pl. XL. i.

[6] Actually twenty-five in all (Inscrs. Nos. 25–49 on Pls. LVI–LIX) from nine tombs; of these, twelve were found in the doorway of tomb 307.

It may be that the innovations suggested by the appearance of some of these objects in the central group of tombs are really to be explained by the better preservation of the interiors and the greater ease with which this group of tombs was excavated. In the southern group, whether by accident or by design, the sand and limestone chippings which formed the filling of the entrances, having become mixed with water, had firmly cemented up the whole of the passage, and for the most part the interior of the chamber had to be dug out with chisels. In the case of the ring-tombs, however, the digging was lighter, even in the outer passages. The chamber doors, moreover, were frequently found well closed, so that the interior was almost free from accumulated débris.

Whatever the condition of the tomb and its contents, one of the doors at least was found to have been opened and less perfectly built up, and usually this was the door on the south, giving direct access to the better objects placed with or round the burial itself. We came to the conclusion that not a single tomb of all those examined remained undisturbed, though the bulk of the contents apparently remained as they had been placed originally. Certainly in no case could it be said that the bones of the interment remained in articulation. On the other hand, as our photographs show, the head was found frequently separated from the bones by a considerable distance, and it seems probable that plunderers in their search for gold or other treasure had entered every tomb of the necropolis. If we may hazard a conjecture from the average position of the bodies as they were found, we may surmise that they had been placed with their heads to the south. In the southern group of tombs the appearance was generally contracted; while in the central group there was more suggestion of an extended burial, which the long bedsteads upon which the dead had been placed in some instances[1] seemed to corroborate. We came further to the conclusion, after noting the markings on the sides of the passages leading to the tombs, and other indications, that in antiquity the passages at least had remained open for a considerable length of time, and that possibly one of the doors had from time to time been opened for renewal of offerings within the burial chamber. If this was so, then it was probably during this period that the robbery and violation of the remains had taken place. Subsequently, when the necropolis became disused, the passages filled up with the accumulation of sand and débris brought by the rains, and from that time onwards no disturbance seems to have taken place.

In the two groups of tombs that we have discussed, it has become apparent that the structural differences and the minor variations of funerary offerings, while they indicate two periods or phases, offer no evidence of any radical discontinuity in the local burial customs. On the other hand, the main features of the interments in these two groups show little change, an impression which is substantiated by our photographs of some typical interiors (on Plates XXXVI–XL). A schedule of the contents of various tombs will also be found at the foot of this chapter. In tomb 300 (Pl. XXXVII) there may be noted the vases of fine red pottery, the vase-stands decorated

[1] Cf. Pls. XXXVIII. i and XL. ii.

with a pattern in white, and the black pottery jugs covered with lids, all found at the south end of the tomb. Amidst the bones of the burial there will be noticed a long iron sword with midrib, and part of a knife and other implements of the same metal. A glass bottle of blue and yellow colour, in perfect state, was found in this portion of the chamber, while to the north there was a characteristic group of the larger pottery vases. In tomb 302 (Pl. XXXVIII) bones and small pottery objects may be seen thrown together at the southern corner of the bed-frame, while pieces of basket-work and matting remained between the sides of the bed. One of the most interesting features of this tomb is seen in the lower photograph, where the skeletons of two dogs, lying side by side in the background of the picture, indicate the sacrifice of a sportsman's hounds at the time of his interment. In tomb 303 (Pl. XXXIX) there was an equal disarrangement of the contents of the grave, as the photograph shows. Amongst the objects there may be noted a long quiver of leather to carry the iron-barbed arrows; also a pottery vessel with canvas tied about its neck. In tomb 307 (Pl. XL) there is another instance of a bed-frame used as a couch for the dead, a custom which is not without parallels in Egypt in the Twelfth and Eighteenth dynasties.[1] It is clear that there is no support in the tombs which have been excavated for the statement of Herodotus, quoted by others, that the Ethiopians encased their dead in some form of glass or alabaster coffin.[2] At any rate, such coffin was not placed within the tomb.

Passing further north we find a considerable distinction in structure and in the funerary objects, though the appearance of the mound which covered tombs 500 to 599 was much as in previous cases. Here we found chambers gained by a narrow flight of steps which were neatly cut in the gravel. The passage was also narrower, and the chamber much smaller. In several instances the mound covered two or more similar tombs, descending from different directions. In no case was the interior of a chamber found in a satisfactory state of preservation; but this portion of the necropolis demands a thorough examination. It is certain from our experimental excavations here that a new class of pottery had made its appearance at the age represented by these tombs, and this is the fine painted or stamped decorated pottery which is so distinctively Meroitic.[3] Only two Meroitic altars (Nos. 23, 24) were found, and it is clear that the period of these tombs is relatively late, possibly embracing the first centuries A.D. In the group 400 to 499, which lay near to the railway, the pottery was almost entirely a late red-brick fabric, suggestive rather of Roman than of any other style. Meroitic pottery was not found in these, except sporadically, but two inscribed stones (Nos. 50, 51) were unearthed, presumably old altars re-used.

To sum up in broad terms the result of our analysis of the necropolis, the southern group of tombs, numbered 1 to 99, seems to be the oldest. The tombs were covered with mounds, there were no inscriptions or painted pottery, the black pottery was commonly soft and lacking any burnish. In only a few instances was it

[1] See for example the writer's *Burial Customs ... at Beni-Hassan*, figs. 118, 119.

[2] Herodotus, iii. 24.

[3] See Pls. XLVII–XLVIII.

incised. The position of the body may have been 'contracted'. In the second group, 300 to 399, which we call the ring-tombs, the entrance was generally gained by a pair of parallel passages. Inscriptions now freely made their appearance. The black pottery at any rate was of better quality, and was frequently decorated with white incised patterns. Otherwise the standard objects with the interment were much the same as those of the earlier group. The position of the burial would seem in some cases to have been 'extended'. The third group would be that which we numbered 500–599, in which the structure became more economical, the inscriptions more crude and conventional, while a new fabric of pottery, much finer than anything attained in the earlier periods, was now in common use. We should say that a greater interval or change separated the period of these tombs from that of the middle group than that of the latter from the most southerly group. The fourth group (numbered 400–499) seemed to be the latest of those which we examined, and possibly post-Meroitic. There are other tombs to be found in plenty north of the region we explored, which may help to fill in the series and to determine the limits more exactly. A further study of the criteria and data established, by the side of new materials which it is hoped to find on renewing these excavations, should go far to solve the broader chronological problems. Samples of deposits from various strata in the several temples and historical buildings have been preserved, but the detailed discussion of these may be profitably withheld.

NOTES ON TYPICAL TOMBS AND THEIR CONTENTS

No. 1. Tomb-mound covered with stones. Steep descent, four metres deep. Two openings to ill-defined chamber.

Contents: Pottery vessels, &c. Classes[1] P; ZA, ZE.
Eight stone staff-heads, seemingly of diorite. (Cf. XXXVI. ii.)
Red stone staff-head.
Group of iron arrow-heads. (Cf. Pl. LIV. 16.)
Head and bones (scattered).
(Contents of north end destroyed.)

No. 3. Tomb-mound covered with stones. Steep descent, as No. 1. (See Pl. XXXVI.) (Secondary interment near surface.) Interment seemingly extended, but bones partly disarticulated.

Contents: Diorite staff-heads. (See Pl. XXXVI. ii.)
Black pottery vessels. Types ZD, ZF, ZX, and large vases of Class A.

[1] For classification of pottery types see Schedule in Chapter VIII.

No. 5. Tomb as No. 1. Interment disarticulated. Position of bones suggested a sitting posture.

Contents: Pottery vessels. Classes A, D, E, P; ZS.
Glass vessel (fragments).
Horns of a (?) gazelle.
Bronze kohl-stick.
Vari-coloured small glass beads: one carnelian bead.

No. 7. Plain sand-mound; 1·50 m. deep. Single chamber door, roughly closed with stones.

Contents: Pottery vases. Classes A 2, E 2, and black vases of types ZF, ZT, ZX.

No. 8. Plain mound, as No. 7.

Contents: Pottery. Classes A, P, and ZF.
Small blue glazed beads: three or four beads of dark-blue glass.

No. 300. (See Pl. XXXVII.)

Black ring-grave. Single entrance from east: door, at 2 m. depth, closed with rough stone slabs.

Contents: Pottery of Classes A, B, C, D, E, P; ZB, ZC, ZF, ZS.

No. 302. Ring-grave, formed by pieces of sandstone placed in a circle about 12 m. diameter, within which also the dark pebbles had been removed.

Single chamber (2 m. × 3 m.) at depth of 3 m.

Contents (see Pl. XXXVIII): Pottery of Classes A, B; ZC, ZF, ZS, ZT, ZX, ZY. Inscribed altars (Nos. 25, 26).

No. 304. Ring-grave (formed of the dark pebbles); double entrance.

Contents (whole): Pottery of Classes A, B, C, D, F, J, P; ZA, ZC, ZK, ZS, ZY.
Iron implement with perforated head and wooden shaft. (Pl. LIV. No. 5.)
Leaf-shaped lance-head, plain; of iron (ibid. No. 4).
Iron ring-fittings (ibid. Nos. 12, 13).
Long iron sword (ibid. No. 20).
Wooden pillow or pedestal.
Whorls and staff-heads of diorite in remains of a box. (Cf. Pl. XXXVI.)
Blue glazed beads, medium globular, and some cylindrical.

No. 307. Spot covered with low sand-mound, 20 m. diameter, surrounded by ring of pieces of sandstone.

Tomb as No. 303. (See Pl. XL.)

Interment of a female: bones scattered.

Burial chamber 4·50 m. long × 2·50 m. wide × 1·30 m. high.
Doors closed with rough slabs and numerous inscribed altars. (Pls. LVI–LVII.)
Contents apparently complete, but disturbed at south end.
Pottery. Classes A, B, D, F, M, P; ZC, ZK, ZS, ZT.
Baskets and covers.
Bed-frame with moulded legs, about 31 cm. high (decayed).
Inscribed altars (Nos. 27–38, and 49).

No. 310 Tomb covered with low mound of sand covered with dark pebbles. Entrance to chamber, single opening from the west.
Pottery. Classes A, P; ZC, ZY.

No. 311. Grave covered by sand-mound about 20 m. diameter, with a ring of sandstone pieces halfway up the slope.
Single entrance from the east.
Inscribed altar (inscr. 40).
Pottery of Classes ZC, ZS; N.

No. 321. Low, flat-topped mound of sand.
Single entrance from the east.
Pottery of Classes A, P; ZA, ZS, ZT, ZY.
Two spinning-whorls of unbaked clay (see p. 47).

No. 326. Flat ring-grave marked by white pebbles, enclosed by a dark pebble ring about 16 m. in diameter.
Single entrance from the north-east.
Inscribed altar (No. 42).

No. 327. Flat ring-grave marked by pieces of sandstone.
Inscribed altar (No. 43).
Number of small globular beads of blue glaze.
Pottery of Classes A, E, P; ZA, ZS, ZY.

No. 329. Flat, small ring-grave.
Single entrance from the east.
Pottery of Classes E, J 1, P; ZF, ZS, ZT, ZY.
Number of small blue glazed beads, and some of globular shape, medium size.

No. 500. Pottery vessel (Meroitic style).
Small bead of blue glaze.
Uninscribed votive altar of stone.

No. 501. Two Meroitic pottery vessels.
Inscribed altar (No. 23).

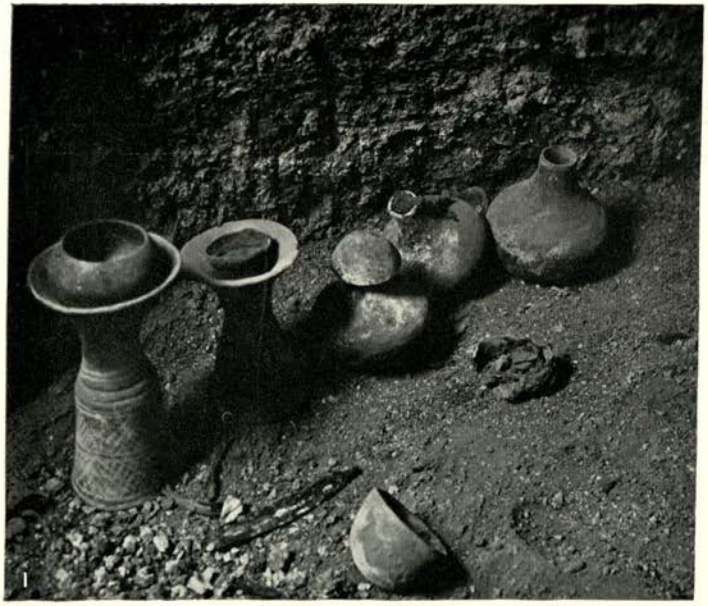
No. 504. Five small graves in the same mound.
Small beads of blue glaze.
Fragments of metal.

No. 505. Small eagle (or similar bird) in stone.
Inscribed altar (No. 24).

No. 512. Very slight mound, covering two tombs descending in steps (7).
Chambers narrow, about 1 m. in width.
Two uninscribed votive altars.
Five pottery vases.

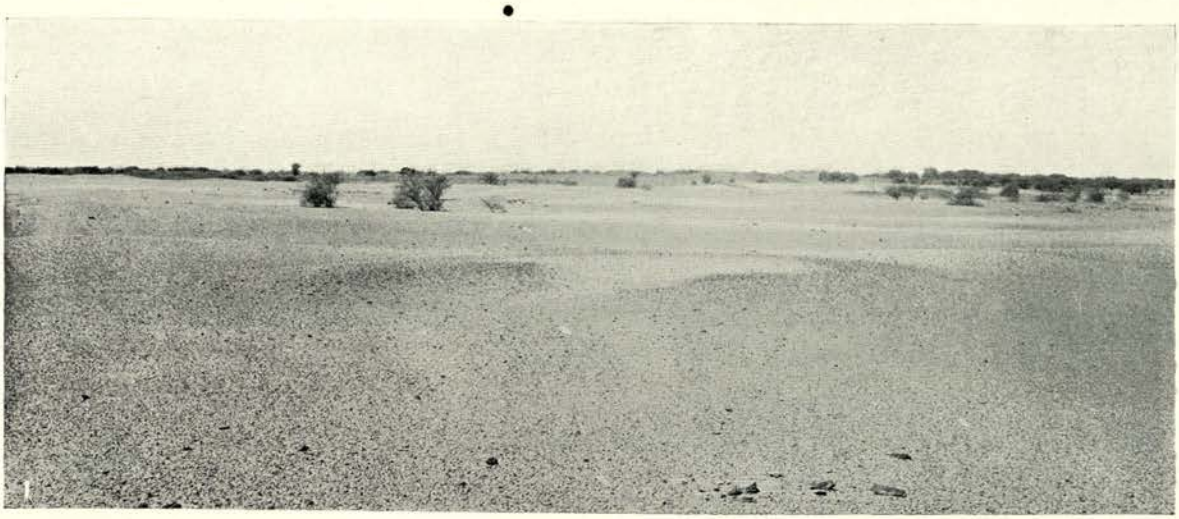
THE NECROPOLIS: EXCAVATION OF TOMB No. 3

1. The mound that covered the tomb.
2. Diorite staff-heads from within.
3. The entrance blocked with stones.
   [A secondary burial near the surface.]
4. Entrance cleared showing the two doors.



1. S. end of burial chamber, showing pottery vases, &c. 2. The human remains, as found, with iron sword, basket-work, &c. 3. Glass bottle from S. end. 4. N. end, showing deposit of large pottery vessels.

1. S. end showing bed-frame (R) and the human remains mingled with pottery objects and basket-work (L).
2. W. side showing skeletons of two dogs (L) and deposit of pottery vases (R).



1. The surface of the tomb, showing dark ring. 2. Entrance, showing double passage and closed doors.
3. Burial chamber as found, with pottery vessels, quiver, baskets, &c.

1. Entrance, showing double passage and doors closed with funerary stelae.
2. Interior, showing bed-frame and the disturbed remains.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POTTERY AND SMALL OBJECTS

With Plates XLI–LIV

The pottery found at Meroë during these excavations is distinctive and non-Egyptian. Its variety of form and decoration, the high average standard of its technique, and the excellent quality of its finer specimens, are indications of a local art and industry well worthy of close study. Most of the examples which we are about to describe were found in the tombs of the necropolis, in which our excavations are still in progress. We therefore postpone any general observations in expectation of further materials and supplementary evidence.

The photographic plates (XLI–XLII) illustrate a selection of pottery vases characteristic of the whole: the various types and their distinctive features are further shown in the line-drawings which follow on Plates XLIII–XLVI. Decorative art, of various kinds, is illustrated in colour and monochrome on the seven Plates numbered XLVII–LIII.

The great vessels[1] of globular body with upright neck are conspicuous in the tombs of the southern and central portions of the necropolis (which constitute, as we have seen, the early series, as opposed to the northern group which seems to be definitely later). Though of a generally uniform shape, there is nevertheless considerable variety in size, as well as in details of ornamentation and pose of the neck. The body surface is in nearly all cases of a rough appearance caused by the imprint of a cover of matting folded upon the wet clay, doubtless to preserve the form of the bowl while baking. The colour is dark red, tending to yellow; but on the neck the surface is invariably finished with a dark-red slip and considerably burnished. In the simple types one or more thin bands of the same dark-red slip mark the collar; but not infrequently a raised band of clay is added, and similarly treated. In a few instances there appears upon the body of the vessel a distinctive symbol in relief (the lizard being clear in one case), but whether by way of potter's mark, or tribal totem, or personal emblem, is not determinable. A decorative effect is sometimes imparted to the vessel by a *zig-zag* or diagonal line pattern of triangular shape around the shoulder: this is sometimes marked out in lines burnished upon the basic clay, but as frequently a band of white colour is added to serve as background to the design.

[1] Nos. 1–8, Classes A, B.

Another class of large vessels[1] is of smooth surface, and either dull-red, dark-brown, or red-brown in colour. The globular form is not attained in these cases, possibly because the mat cover was dispensed with. Sometimes the shoulder is high, but more commonly the body is slightly flattened, as though the weight of the neck had pressed it out. The effect, however, is not distortionate or ill-pleasing, and, coupled with the varying style of neck, adds considerable variety to the forms. No paint or pattern seems to have been employed upon these vessels of smooth surface; but an embellishment is found in some instances in a high collar, suggesting that the neck was affixed to the inside of the mouth of the globe, and this gave rise to a decorative feature of somewhat peculiar character. Another class of ware found occasionally in these early tombs, and hence probably in common general use, is of yellow colour, with rough surface, and hard baked.[2]

In addition to these larger varieties there were several classes of small pottery objects found in the same deposits: these are in general of higher finish, and give token of greater individual care bestowed upon their decoration: from their special disposition within the tombs,[3] they were clearly regarded at the time as special products of the potter's craft. They fall into two or three main groups. The one includes a rare series of highly polished vases,[4] dark red in colour, the only ornament to which might be a symbol in relief, like a potter's mark or tribal emblem. Of similar fabric, though not so highly burnished, are a few unique specimens decorated with a pattern in white paint.[5] The pottery tables[6] found in comparative plenty throughout this group of tombs, really fall within the latter category, but in most cases the same final care was not bestowed upon their appearance, and in effect the red surface is frequently unequal, the white lines are sometimes uneven and irregular, while the patterns become conventional or carelessly executed. Another large group is of black colour, including a considerable variety of forms,[7] and not infrequently decorated with elementary patterns incised and whitened. The fabric in some examples from the earliest (southern) tombs is somewhat thick, soft, and of generally primitive appearance; but in the central group of tombs (which were also much drier) the average standard was much higher, the surface being often brightly burnished, the ware thinner, and the vessel better baked.

The later fabrics, found in the northern group of tombs and upon the city mounds, include further examples of hard black ware, a new and noteworthy class of decorated pottery, many fragments of hard character with incised or punctuated designs upon them, and, latest of all, a peculiar hard brick-red fabric. Before passing to an examination of these, however, it will be useful at this stage to summarize in schedule form the series of examples illustrated and numbered in the plates. The classification into standard types (A, B, . . ., &c.), based chiefly upon the forms, must necessarily be regarded as provisional.

[1] Nos. 9–13, Classes C, D, E.
[2] Nos. 14, 15–21, Classes F, G, M.
[3] Cf. p. 30 and Pls. XXXVII. i; XXXVIII. i; XXXIX. iii.
[4] Nos. 17–19, Classes J, K.
[5] Nos. 20, 21.
[6] Nos. 23–26, Class P.
[7] Nos. 35–49, Pl. XLVI.

SCHEDULE OF POTTERY TYPES

(PLATES XLIII–XLVI, WITH FURTHER REFERENCE TO PLATES XLI–XLII.)

1. Type A 1. Scale 1:12. Body, rough mat-pattern surface, dull red. Neck, burnished dark red. See Pl. XLI. i. Centre. (Tomb 300.)

2, 3. Types A v. 1 and A v. 2; variants of A 1, having a raised collar of ornamental character around the neck. See Pl. XLI. ii. L.

4. Type A 2. Scale 1:12. Body as in No. 1, but the neck and collar of different shape. See Pl. XLI. i. R. (Tomb 3.)

5. Type A 3. Scale 1:12. Body and neck much as in No. 1, but the collar ornamented with dark-red zigzag of burnished red instead of the plain band. See Pl. XLI. iv. Centre. (Tomb 3.)

6. Type A 4. Scale 1:8. Form, a small variant of No. 4, but the decoration as on No. 5. See Pl. XLI. i. L. (Tomb 15.)

7. Type B 1. Scale 1:8. Body as in No. 1, but neck tapering. Decoration triangular network pattern in dark red. See Pl. XLI. ii. R. (Tomb 307.)

8. Type B v. 1. Scale 1:8. Form and decoration much as in No. 7, of which it is a variant, distinguished by raised ornamental collar.

9. Type C 1. Scale 1:8. Body slightly expanded, surface smooth and dark red in colour. Neck decorated with a raised collar high up. See Pl. XLI. iii. R. (Tomb 304.)

10. Type C 2. Scale 1:8. Much the same as No. 9, only more slender, and neck elongated above the collar. See Pl. XLI. iii. L. (Tomb 302.)

11. Type D. Scale 1:12. Body, smooth surface, dark-brown colour, neck of Form No. 4, but lip more expanding. No decoration. See Pl. XLI. iv. L. (Tomb 312.)

12. Type E 1. Scale 1:8. Body smooth, dark-brown colour, neck long and slender. See Pl. XLI. iv. R. (Tomb 302.)

13. Type E 2. Scale 1:8. Resembles No. 12 in technique, but body more globular, and neck shorter. See Pl. XLI. vii. (Tomb 5.)

14. Type F. Scale 1:8. Rougher and thicker pottery than the foregoing; colour, drab-yellow. Form, a bowl with closing mouth. See Pl. XLI. vi. Centre. (Tomb 307.)

15. Type G. Scale 1:8. Pottery as in No. 14. Form with neck added and expanding lip, but open mouth. See Pl. XLI. vi. R. (Tomb 332.)

16. Type H. Scale 1:8. Form, a dish. In this example pottery of somewhat rough finish: other specimens good, dark-red surface, darker inside and smooth. Cf. Pl. XLII. v. L. (Tomb 310.)

17. Type J 1. Scale 1:6. Bowl of highly burnished dark-red pottery, fairly thin, decorated with a symbol in relief. See Pl. XLII. v. L. (Tomb 321.)

18. Type J 2. Scale 1:6. Technique as in No. 17. Form, a dish, with embryo handles. (Tomb 304.)

19. Type K. Scale 1:6. Technique as in No. 17. Form, a cup on flat base. See Pl. XLII. c. Centre.

20. Type L. (Unique specimen.) Scale 1:6. Bowl of burnished red pottery of lighter colour than the foregoing, decorated with pattern painted around the rim in white lines. (Tomb 331.)

21. Type M. (Unique.) Scale 1:6. Table or stand of highly burnished dark-red pottery, decorated with pattern painted on outside in white line. See Pl. XLI. viii. R. (Tomb 307.)

22. Type N. (Uncommon.) Scale 1:8. Table of rough pottery, same technique as Nos. 14, 15; a raised collar around the neck, and base decorated with perforations. See Pl. XLI. vi. L. (Tomb 15.)

Plate XLV.

23–6. Types P 1–P 4 respectively. Scale 1:6. Stands of burnished red pottery, decorated with pattern painted in white line. Details of forms and patterns various. See Pl. XLII. ii. (Tombs 8, 5, 307 (two).)

27–9. Types S, T 1, T 2. Scale 1:6. Pottery of late period (northern group, rough fabric); forms not classified. See Pl. XLII. vi. (Tomb 512.)

30. Type U. Scale 1:6. Vessel on pedestal of rough fabric, dark-brown colour, simulates the late wares, but darker in colour and somewhat softer. Pl. XLII. vi. (Tomb 15.)

31. Type V. Scale 1:6. Hard red fabric, probably late date; one of a group from the Kenîseh, No. 600.

32–4. Types X, W, Y respectively. Scale 1:12. Late rough fabrics from the northern group of tombs (western portion, Nos. 400 . . .). See Pl. XLI. viii.

PLATE XLVI.

Black Pottery (Z): Scale 1:6.

35. Type ZA. Burnished black-brown, with pattern incised and whitened. See Pl. XLII. ii. R. (Tomb 304.)

[Type ZA 2, as No. 35 in form, but not decorated.]

36. Type ZB. Vessel and lid of black pottery, rather soft. Rim decorated. Cf. Pl. XLII. ii. L. (Tomb 15.)

37. Type ZC. Vessel of shape No. 35, plain, with lid. See Pl. XLII. ii. Centre. (Tomb 302.)

38. Type ZD. Decorated with white lines around neck. See Pl. XLII. iv. L. (Tomb 15.)

39. Type ZE. Expanding lip decorated with white lines. Pl. XLII. iv. R. (Tomb 15.)

40. Type ZF. Form No. 36, but plain; with or without lid. (Tomb 3.)

41. Type ZH. (Unique.) Specimen with cross-decoration of white lines incised. From the Ken'seh. No. 600.

42. Type ZK. Spouted vessel, pottery rather soft; rim decorated with whitened incisions. Cf. Pl. XLII. vii. (Tomb 15.)

43. Type ZK 2. Variant of No. 42, rougher pottery vessel with open mouth and no decoration. See Pl. XLII. vii.

44. Type ZS. Small dish of black pottery, many varieties, commonly used also as lids or covers. (Specimen from tomb 315.)

45. Type ZW. Bowl with white line and dot decoration. Pl. XLII. ix. (Tomb 335.)

46. Type ZX. Bowl with inside of lip decorated with incisions. (Tomb 321.)

47. Type ZY. Bowl with expanding lip. (Tomb 312.)

48. Type ZT. Bowl with narrowing mouth, common type. (Tomb 316.)

49. Type ZV. Vessel of harder and somewhat rougher fabric, fire burnt as by cooking. Probably of latest period. See Pl. XLII. ix. (Tomb 411.)

It has already become clear that supposing the foregoing types to be representative of a considerable sequence of years, then their grouping and associations should render it possible to deduce a system of sequence dates after the system

devised by Prof. Petrie in his study of the prehistoric pottery of Egypt.[1] To some extent the application of this method has proved satisfactory, but the comparatively few number of graves explored in relation to the whole introduces at present a number of gaps which it is necessary to fill from further observation before results of permanent usefulness can be established. The present tentative results will prove a useful basis for our further investigation of this problem. Meanwhile, it will be of interest to the student of this branch of archaeology to indicate from a few examples the grouping in some of the most representative deposits of these various types. The selection is taken entirely from the southern and central groups of tombs, so that the classes T, V, W, X, Y (Nos. 31–4) and ZV (No. 49) are excluded, as well as those specimen types like L and M (Nos. 20, 21) which are unique, and those which were found outside the necropolis like ZH (No. 41) and V (No. 31), both of which come from the Kenîseh (No. 600). Small variants of the types illustrated in the plates to which they otherwise correspond, are denoted by a small suffix s. The prefix Z indicates black pottery.

Tomb.	Types.
No. 1.	P, ZA, ZA 2 (four), ZE.
No. 3.	A 2 (two), A 2.s, A 3; ZD, ZF, ZX, ZXs (three).
No. 5.	A 2.s, A 4, D, E 2, P 2; ZS (two).
No. 8.	A 1, A 2 (two), A 2.s (four), A 4, A 4.s, P 1; ZF.
No. 9.	A 1.s (two), A 1.s (one, smaller), A 2.s, G, E; ZT, ZXs.
No. 11.	A 1 (six), A 2.s, P 1; ZA 2, ZC.
No. 15.	A 1 (two), A 2 (two), A 2.s, A 3.s (two), A 4, N, P 1, P 2, U; ZD, ZE, ZK, ZS (eight), ZXs (two).
No. 300.	A 1 (two), A v. 1, A v. 2, A 2 (six), A 2.s (six), B 2 (two), B 2.s, C 2 (two), D, Ds (five), E 1 (two), P 1 (two), P 2; ZB, ZC, ZF, ZS (two).
No. 302.	A 1, A 1.s, A 2 (two), A 2.s (five), A 4.s, B 1, B 1.s; ZC, ZF, ZS (three), ZT, ZX, ZY.
No. 304.	A 1 (four), A v. 1, A v. 2, A 2 (eleven), A 2.s (six), B v. 1, C 1, C 2, D (three), F 2 (two), J 1, J 2, P 2 (two), P 3; ZA, ZA 2 (two), ZC, ZK 2, ZS (three), ZY (three).
No. 307.	A 1 (four), A 2.s (sixteen), B 1, Ds (two), F, M, P 3 (two), P 4; ZC (two), ZK 2, ZS (six), ZT (two).
No. 309.	A 1 (four), A 1.s (two), A v. 1, A v. 2, A 2.s (six), P 1, P 2; ZA (three), ZA 2 (three), ZS (two).

[1] Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pp. 4–12, and *Journ. Royal Anthropological Inst.*, xxix (1900), 295.

No. 310. A 1, A 2 (two), A 2.s (twelve), A 3, A 4 (two), A 4.s, P 1.s; ZC (two), ZY (five).

No. 312. B 1.s (two), D, J 1, P 2 (two), P 3, P v; ZA 2 (two), ZY (three).

No. 316. A 2, D; ZS, ZT, ZY.

No. 320. A 1, A 1.s, A 2.s, P 1, N v.

No. 324. A 1, A 2.s (eleven), B 1, G, P 1, P 2; ZC (two), ZT.

No. 331. H, L, P 3; ZA 2, ZH, ZK, ZY (ten), ZO.

The Painted 'Meroitic' Ware (Plates XLVII–LI).

Pottery fragments decorated with painted or stamped designs are freely found upon the city mounds, a fact which suggests for them a date comparatively late in the history of the site. This suggestion is confirmed by the excavations among the tombs, for these fabrics were found exclusively among those of the northern group,[1] in striking contrast to the general signs of decadence in the tomb-furniture of that portion of the necropolis. In the excavation of the temples also fragments were found in such positions that they may be deemed to have been coeval with the building of the sanctuaries in the temple of Amon, and the main part of the Kenîseh (or Temple of Isis). We may tentatively assign a range of date from 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. to the vogue of this distinctive class of pottery.

Though distinguished as a whole by its decoration from all the other pottery of the locality, there are really two classes of this fabric and two methods of decorative treatment. The first class of ware is uniformly thin and light, being made from highly refined clay and skilfully baked. An exquisite example of this kind (from tomb 503) is illustrated on Plate XLII (i, R); in this specimen the pottery is thinner than an ostrich egg-shell, perfectly formed and balanced, and clearly required, in the opinion of its maker, no elaborate decoration of paint to add to its perfection. The neck alone is darkened with a warm brown black, while the body of the vase is treated with a cream-coloured slip of high polish. It would be difficult to point out a single specimen of the potter's art from the Nile valley at any age more successful than this one. It must be recognized, however, that this example is exceptional, and in most cases some decorative treatment of the surface was considered desirable to complete the effect. The design was carried out either in colour or by means of a stamp pressed upon the clay while still soft. Sometimes both methods were combined.

The specimens shown on Pls. XLVII, XLVIII serve to illustrate these methods of ornamentation, and the simple forms of vases in common vogue.[2] The first is a bowl of thin pottery with a flat base, pale yellow in colour. Upon its cylindrical

[1] See the examples on Pl. XLVII from tomb 502.

[2] Though we defer any general discussion of the Meroitic pottery as a whole, it is instructive to refer to *Areika*, MacIver and Woolley, Pls. XXIV–XXXI.

surface a repeated lotus pattern in black line, with blue and red dabbed upon the petals and elsewhere, is enclosed between two border lines of black. In the second case the vessel is a shallower dish, and the chief decoration is found inside. The design seems in this case to represent a shrine enclosing an altar, with the cult object (a disc and horns) upon the wall opposite to the entrance.[1] The shrine, disc, and altar are done in red, between lines of black, and the yellow ground is further decorated with a number of Ankh-signs in black. Both of the vases described are slightly larger than the illustrations.

On the next plate (XLVIII) the lower vessel, a kind of cup with flattened base, is decorated on the outside with a pattern in black, the motive of which looks like chain-mail. The rim or lip is painted red. In the upper example the decoration is stamped upon the vessel: the motive of the pattern seems to be much the same, and an upper band of stars and dots adds a finish to the whole. These two vases are reproduced almost their natural size: in both cases the pottery is of light-yellow colour.

Further decorative motives of this class are shown on Pls. XLIX and L, in a few fragments selected from several thousand that were picked up in the locality. The stamped patterns show the ankh and rosette as motives, while among the unpublished specimens there are to be found also various naturalistic motives, such as the tree and leaf, as well as the diamond, knot (sa), chevron, and other symmetrical patterns. Bands of red, brown, or black colour were freely combined with the stamped pattern; and a great variety of forms of the vases themselves are involved which demand further study. Among the subjects treated in colour alone, there may be noticed (on Pl. XLIX) the network, black on yellow, combined in one instance with quatrefoil design, in red, and a zigzag with dots in the interstices, the lotus (red), the rope (yellow), and a curious object in brown like a goose or possibly a scorpion. At the bottom (L) there is a leaf pattern modelled upon a fragment which, to judge from the series of holes down a line of fracture, seems to have been repaired. A quatrefoil design, white on red, and a winged cobra outlined black on yellow, complete the series; but it should be observed that the three last specimens are somewhat thicker than the others, and form a link with a class which has still to be considered.

The series is continued on Pl. L, and in all these examples the pottery is of thin texture and admirable quality. In the first row a new method of treatment is introduced, where the pattern, be it lotus, or diamond, or the tie (Egyptian Sa), is picked out on the background by a band of darker colour.[2] Both diamond and tie (second row) and the lotus (third row) are found also in the more common style. The conventional branch with leaves, the daisy and the bunch of grapes, designed in brown and gold, are examples of naturalistic subjects, of which a considerable variety is indicated upon fragmentary specimens. The pairs of eyes (fourth row) are clearly an adaptation of an Egyptian subject, found freely in funerary art. The last specimen shows a rosette painted dull red on a grey-coloured vase.

[1] It should be stated that a small portion of this design, including the entrance, has been restored.

[2] In the first two, brown on grey; in the third, black on bright yellow.

Thus far we have discussed a thin fabric decorated either in colour or by a stamp; there is, however, as indicated at the outset, another class of decorated ware. It is thicker and harder (more like the brick-red fabrics of post-Meroitic times) and it is decorated solely by painted patterns. Doubtless the thicker body of clay could not receive an impressed pattern without disturbing the surface. In this class, which is plentifully found upon the city mounds, there is a wide variety of subject and mode of treatment. Some examples are seen on Pl. LI, where the vine leaf may be recognized in two cases as a new theme, while the tasteful decoration of one large fragment (Top. R.) seems to embody a conventional combination of mail and *ankh*.

Fragments of the kind illustrated on Pls. LII and LIII were found in quantity upon the city mounds, and for the most part they correspond in fabric to the class of decorated ware last considered, namely the hard-baked pottery of the later Meroitic period. The decoration is either punctuated or scratched in lines upon the surface, and the marks for the most part are not whitened. Some of the fragments doubtless belong to the earlier period (for example, Nos. 10 and 19); but there is reason to suspect, from the character of vases found in deposits within the Amon Temple (e.g. No. 268, Pl. X. ii) and the Kenîseh (No. 41, Pl. XLVI), that most of the specimens here reproduced, and a corresponding proportion of the many that are collected, belong in broad terms to the later period. The black pottery, decorated in some cases by whitened lines around the neck, found in the early tombs, and illustrated on Pl. XLVI, is for the most part thicker and softer than in these examples. Its decoration is also more rudimentary; in other words it is of more primitive character, corresponding to that of prehistoric periods in other countries. In the examples before us, though chosen at random, the surface is in nearly all cases hard or polished. It would seem that the art of making and decorating the black ware dates back from the origin of the site, that it developed and improved materially as time wore on, and that it persevered right down to the end, so long as the city was inhabited by people of the same traditions. The examples shown in these plates are not, however, all of black ware. Some noticeable vases decorated by punctuated patterns are of a hard red-brown surface (e.g. Nos. 2, 3, 4), while a few (e.g. Nos. 15 and 21) are of slightly softer fabric. In treatment, the decorative motives, which these fragments illustrate, seem to be already, for the most part, conventionalized. Animal subjects seem to be recognizable in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; boats of primitive character, corresponding to those painted upon pre-dynastic vases of Egypt, appear in Nos. 7 and 8; the pattern of No. 11 simulates the two-hill sign familiar in Egyptian art and hieroglyphs; while the others seem for the most part to be evolved from geometric forms. The cross on No. 6 should be compared especially with No. 41 on Pl. XLVI.

The pottery found in the central chambers of the Amon Temple, and illustrated on Plate X. ii, illustrates a variety of forms, but from the character of the work it may be dated roughly on the system which we have adopted to the latest phase of the early period, or to the beginnings of the later period, somewhere about the second or third century B. C. It includes an example of pottery stand, decorated with white paint (Class P), of which no examples are found in the later graves; but the other

specimens in this group are not illustrated in the early tombs, and correspond, as we have said, rather with those of later times. Most of them were found on or just under the floor-level of the chambers from which they severally come, and the date which we have independently arrived at for the rebuilding of the temple was about the third or second century B. C.

Summarizing the provisional results of this brief survey, and of our first observations upon the site, it would seem that four periods are indicated, the first represented by the southernmost group of tombs (possibly 1000–600 B.C.); the second embracing the central group of tombs, carrying on the date to about 300–200 B. C.; the third indicated by the main part of the northern group, and lasting down to the close of the best-known Meroitic period, say 200 A.D.; while the fourth is suggested by a few tombs in the west of this group, belonging possibly to a really later phase of occupation of the site. Of these divisions, the first two seem to be nearly related, and to be separated by culture-landmarks from those which follow, which have in like manner some points of affinity with one another, though less close. We may therefore recognize an Early and a Late Period in the local ceramic arts, distinguished by the following characteristics.

EARLY PERIOD (Tombs 1–99, 300–399) say 1000–300 B. C.

Giant globular vases, bound with matting while baking; dark-red slip finish, and burnished lines on whitened background.

Giant vases and smaller varieties of smooth surface, brown colour.

Red polished vases, dark in colour, highly burnished, tending to be thin.

Some red vases, and numerous tables, painted in white line.

Black fabrics, usually small, sometimes decorated with whitened lines, at first thick and primitive, then becoming harder and more highly finished.

Coarse yellow ware, hard baked, sporadic examples.

LATER PERIOD (Tombs 500–599, 400–499), say B. C. 300–A. D. 300.

Black fabrics surviving.

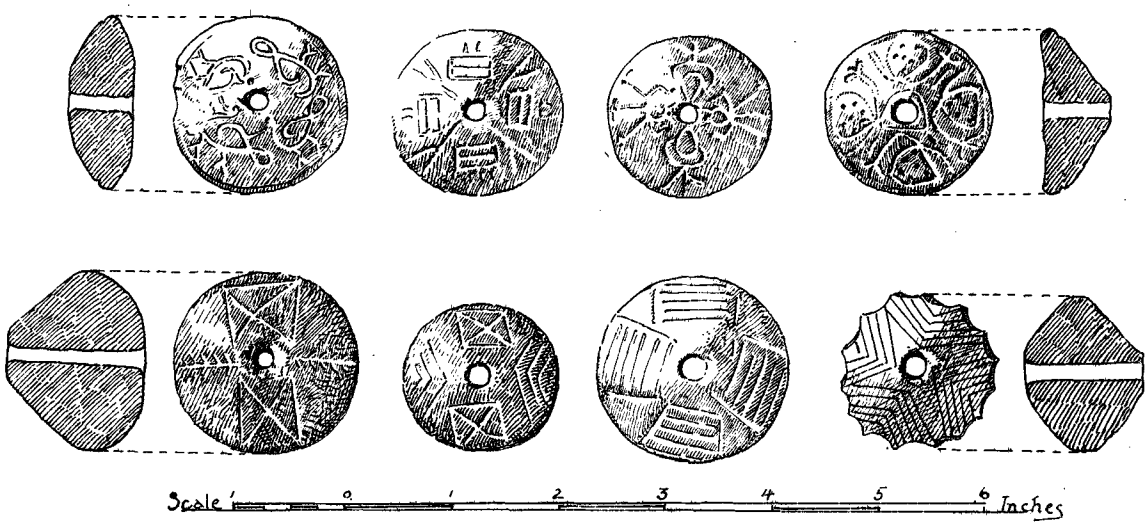
Painted and stamped ware introduced, yellow colour, thin, hard, well finished, and highly decorative.

Hard fabrics, dark colour, elaborately decorated with punctuated or incised patterns.

(ii) Hard brick-red pottery, simulating that of Ptolemaic and Roman periods of Egypt.

In the description of the tombs there have been incidentally mentioned the finds of some few miscellaneous objects, among which are baskets and matting, bed-frames and a chair of wood, glass vessels, staff-heads of diorite, and iron implements. A selection of the last named is illustrated on Plate LIV. The greater number of these were found in Tomb 304, but similar weapons and tools (except No. 5,

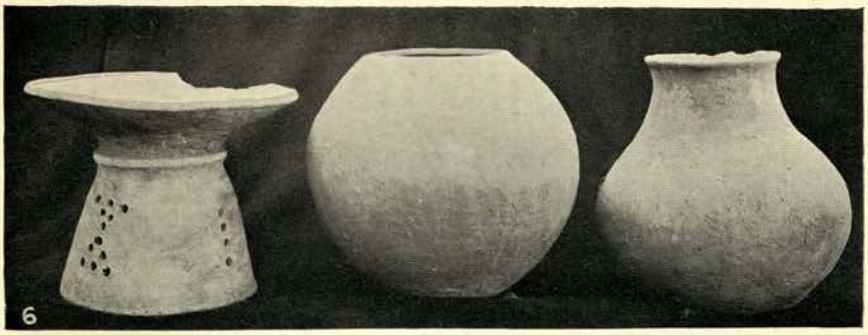
which is unique) were found not uncommonly in the middle group of tombs. With them there sometimes appeared small objects of bronze or copper, but the fully-developed iron-age is indicated by these deposits. The weapons include swords (see No. 20), daggers (with and without midrib, Nos. 6, 7, 9), lance-heads (Nos. 2, 3, 4), knives, curved and straight (Nos. 1, 8), arrow-heads (group No. 16), and so forth. The leaf-shaped spear-head with tang (No. 14) is of special interest; and the perforated object (No. 5), with part of its wooden haft or handle preserved, is very curious, The one-barbed arrow-head is also noteworthy. Trappings, possibly for horses, are suggested by Nos. 12, 13, and 18; and a tool of some kind is probably the explanation of No. 11. In addition to these objects, there were occasionally found



SPINNING-WHORLS OF BLACK CLAY.

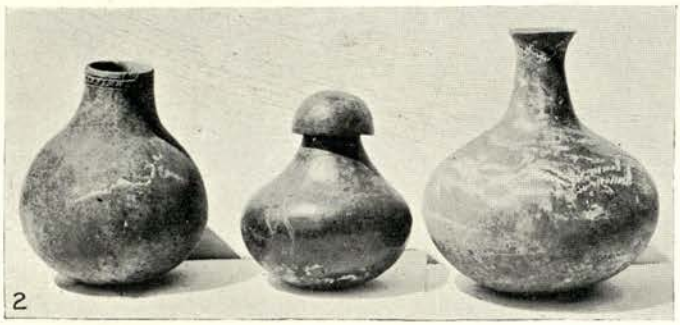
in the tombs various specimens of spinning-whorls of unbaked, or sun-baked, clay. These are rendered doubly interesting by the designs which decorate them, the motives of which are difficult to divine. A considerable number of these whorls were secured from the people of the neighbouring villages, who said they had found them among the ruins of the ancient city—a statement which there is little cause to doubt. As similar objects have been found in North-Western Asia Minor[1] and in the north of Syria,[2] we reproduce above a drawing which shows a selection of characteristic shapes and decorations.

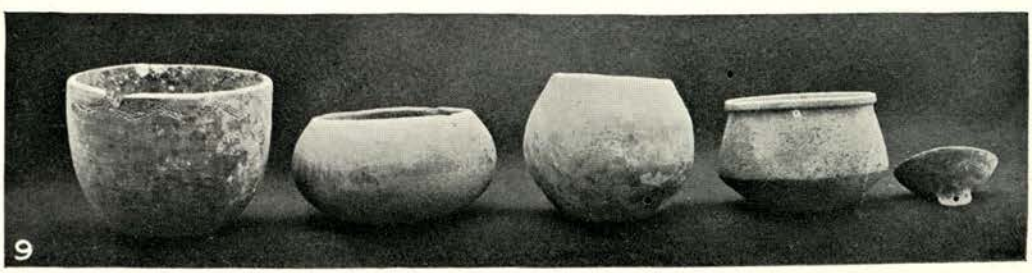
[1] Schuchhardt, *Schlieman's Excavations*, p. 42. [2] Liv., *Annals of Arch.*, i. 4.



1. Types 6, 1, 4.
2. Types 2, 7.
3. Types 10, 9.
4. Type 11.
5. Type 12.
6. Types 22, 14, 15.
7. Types 13, 31.
8. Types 32, 34, 33, —.
9. Specimen 21.

[The reference numbers are to Plates XLIII–XLVI.]

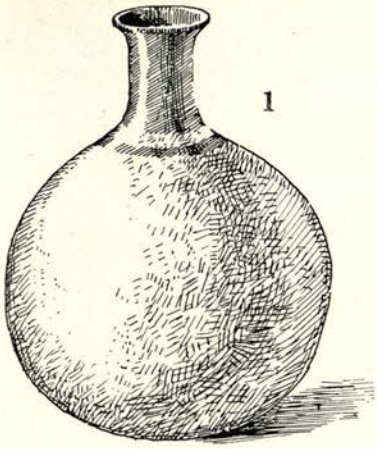


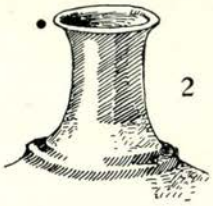


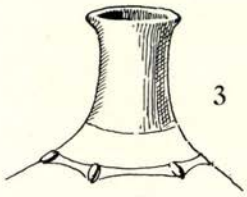
1. Five painted vases (see Plates XLVII, XLVIII). 2. Vases of forms 36, 37, 35. 3. Tables 23, 24, 26, 25.
4. Vases 38, 41, 44, 39. 5. Vases 17, 19, 42. 6. Vases of forms 29, 28, 27, 31, 30, and two small.
7. Bowl with spout (form 42) and dish 16. 8. Uncommon form. 9. Vases 45, —, 48, 49, and a lid.

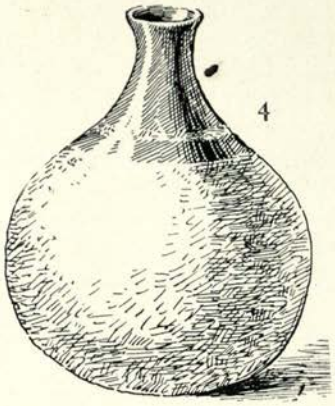
[The reference numbers are to Plates XLIII–XLVI.]

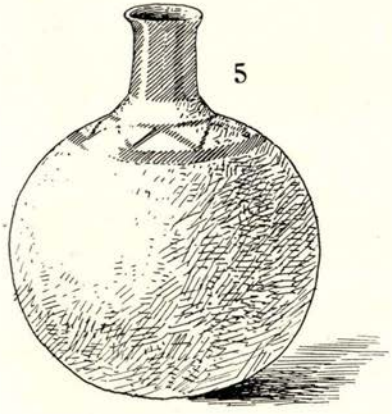
TYPES OF POTTERY VESSELS (i)

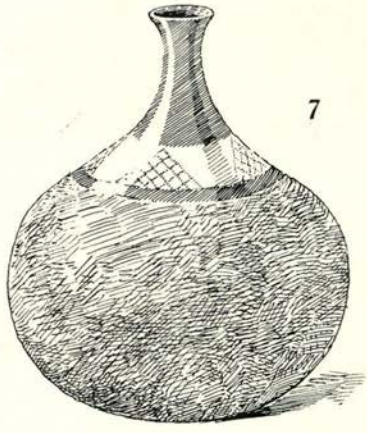


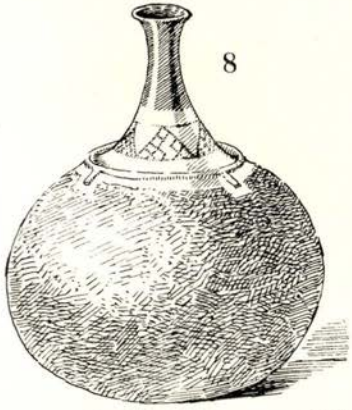


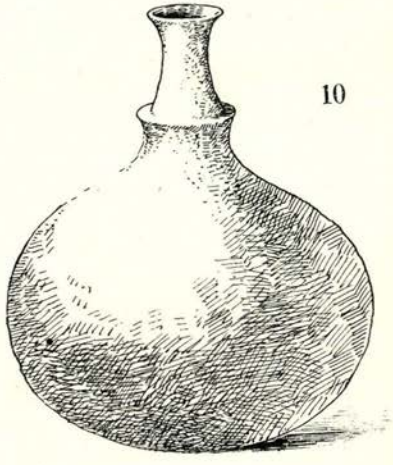






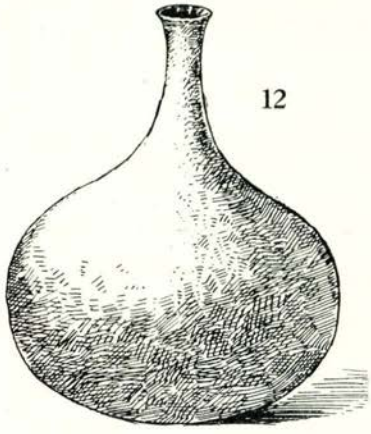


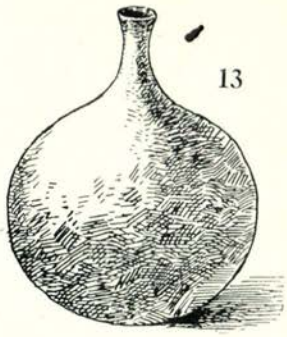


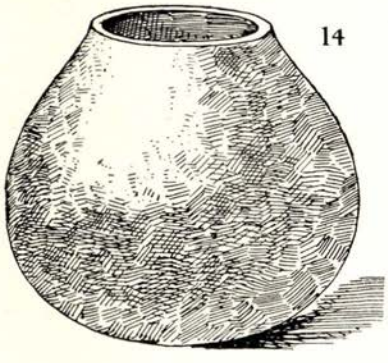


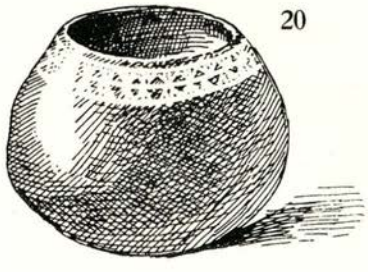
1–6 CLASS A 7–8 CLASS B. 9–10 CLASS C. (SEE SCHEDULE CHAP VIII.)

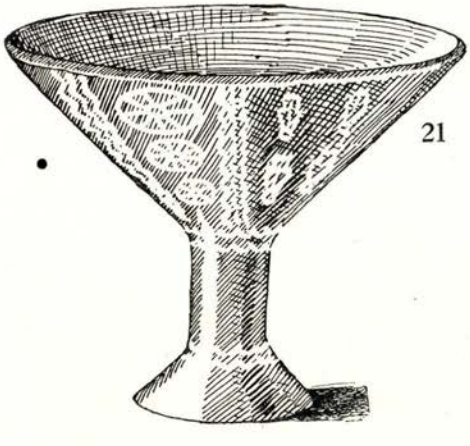
TYPES OF POTTERY VESSELS (ii)

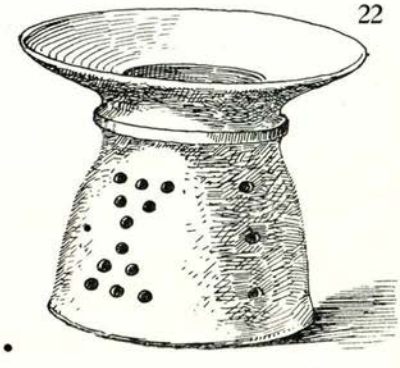




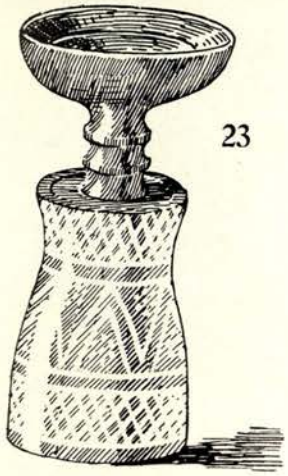


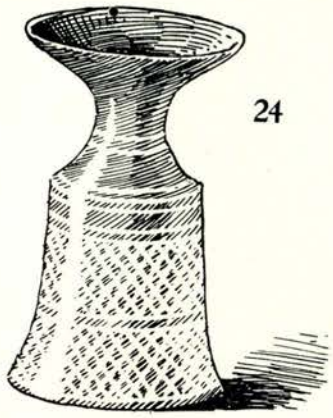


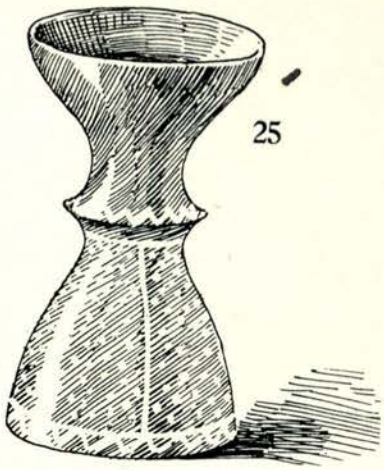


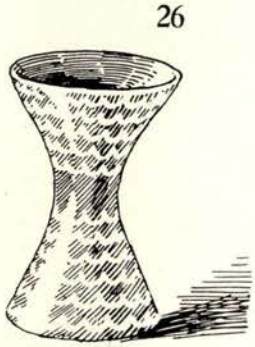


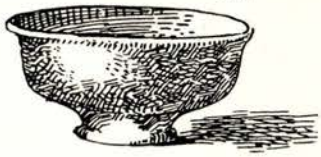
FOR CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES SEE SCHEDULE CHAP VIII

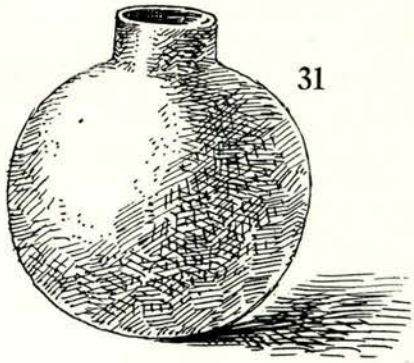


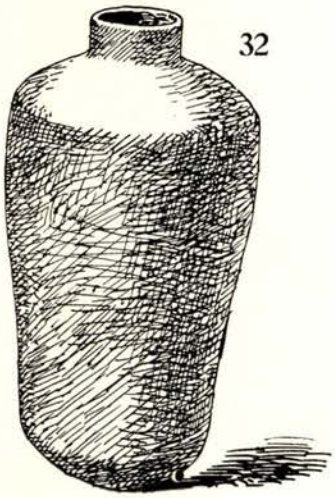


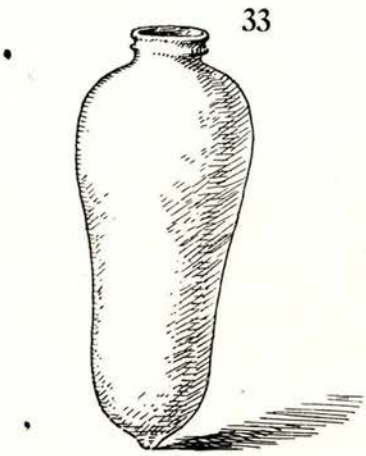


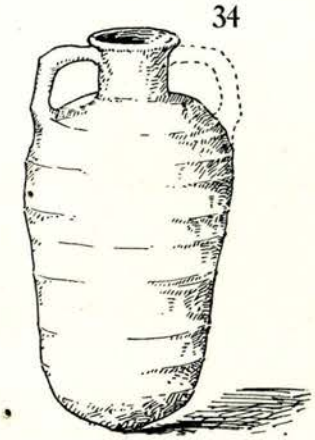




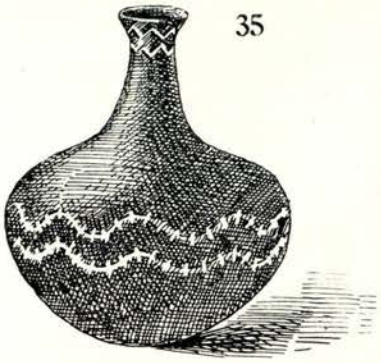








FOR CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES SEE SCHEDULE CHAP VIII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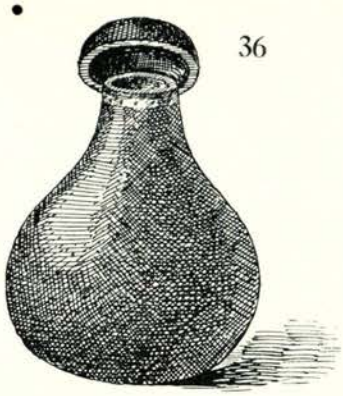
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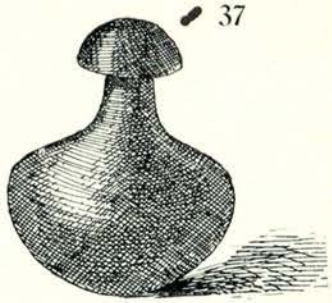
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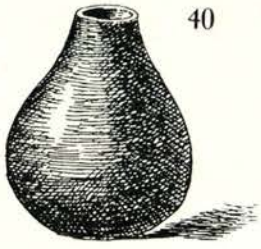
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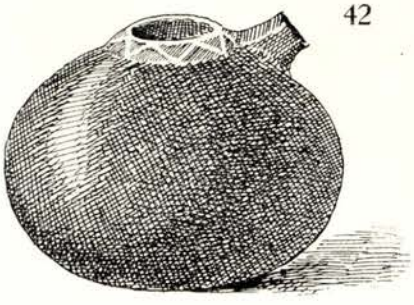
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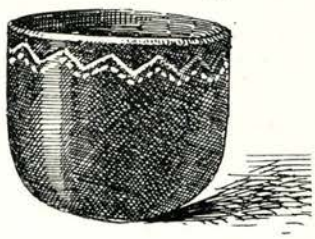
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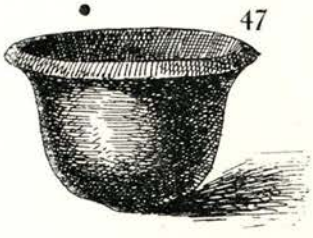
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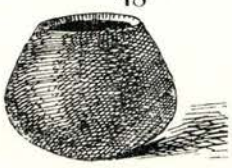
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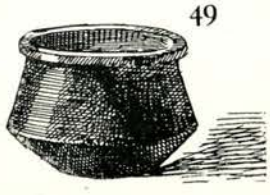
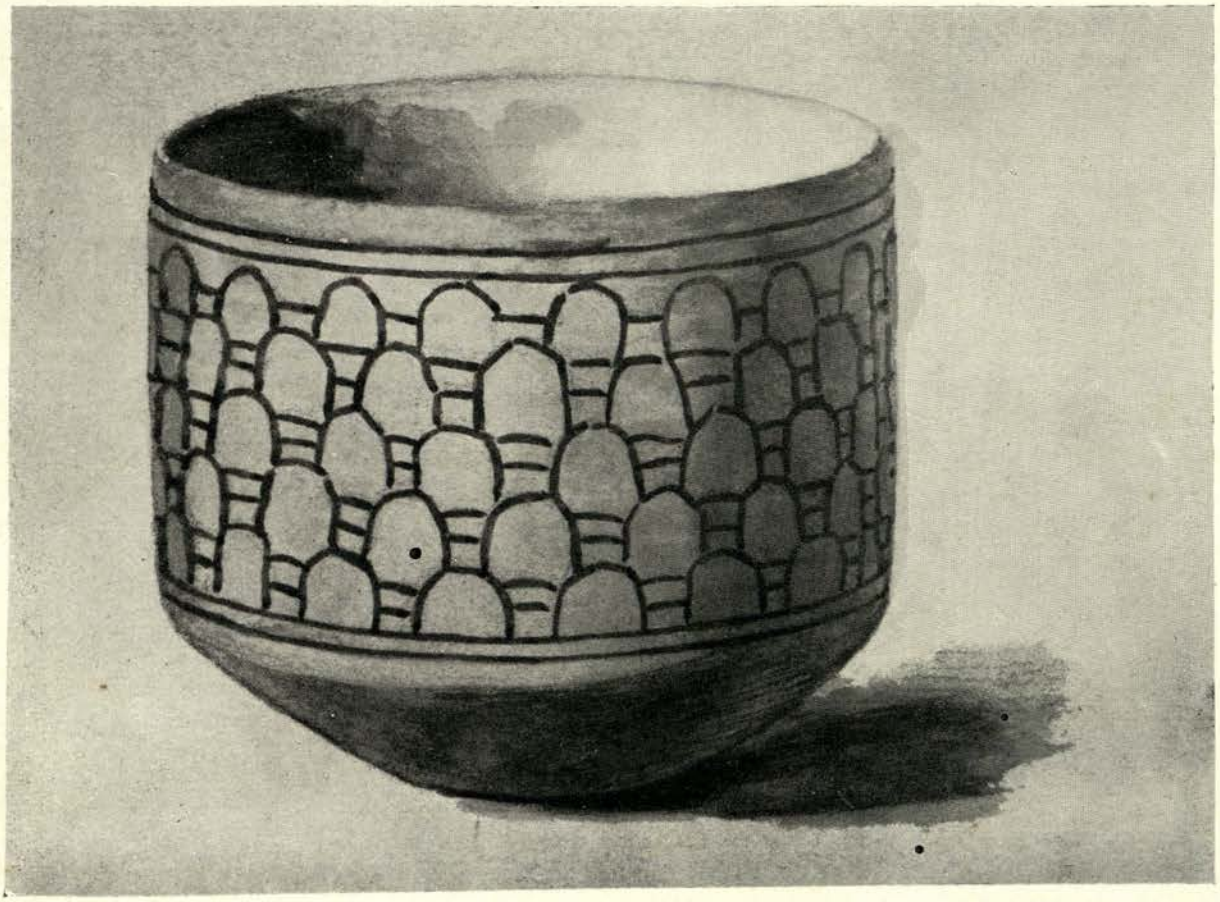
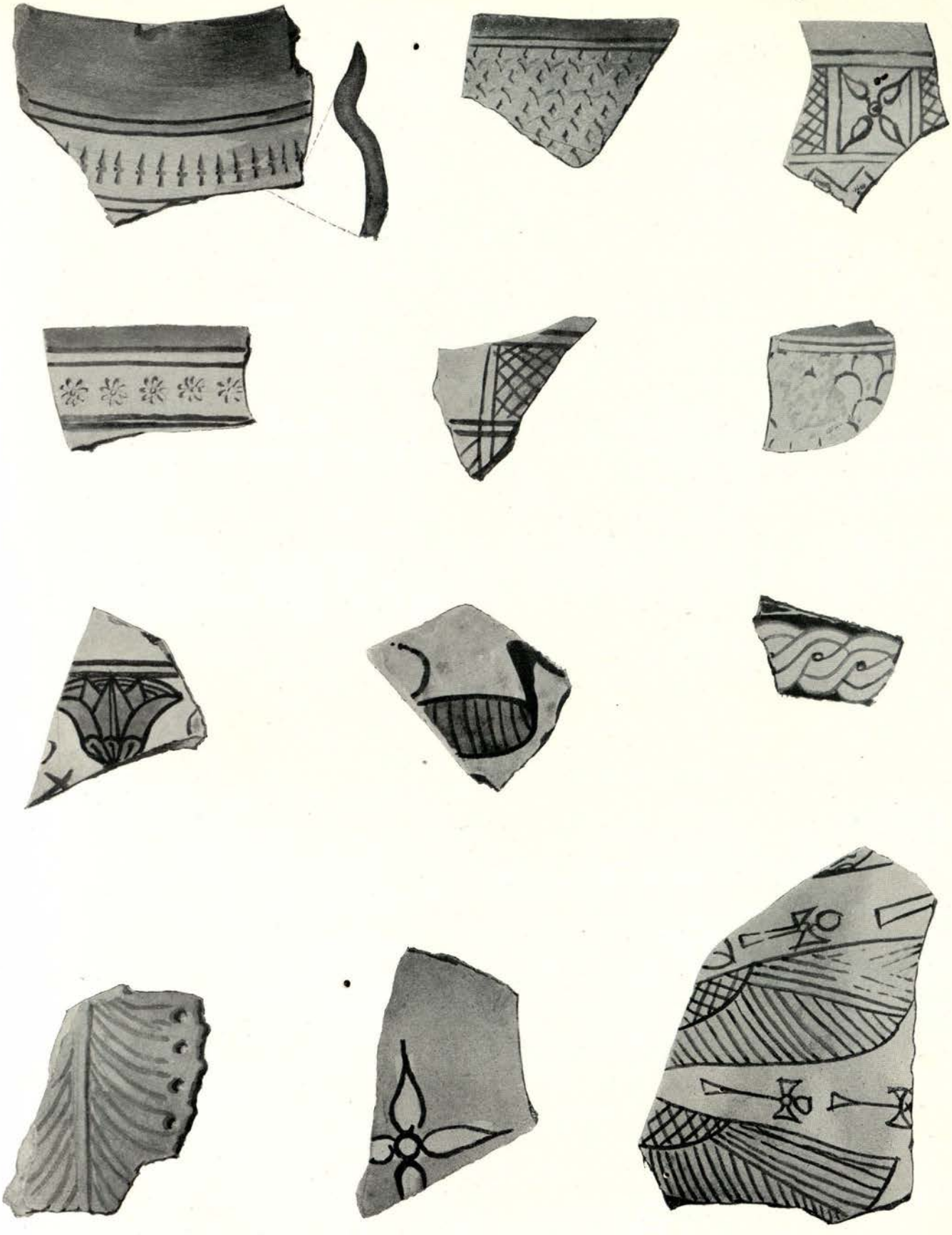

49

For Classification of types see schedule chap VIII

PAINTED VASES FROM THE NECROPOLIS.

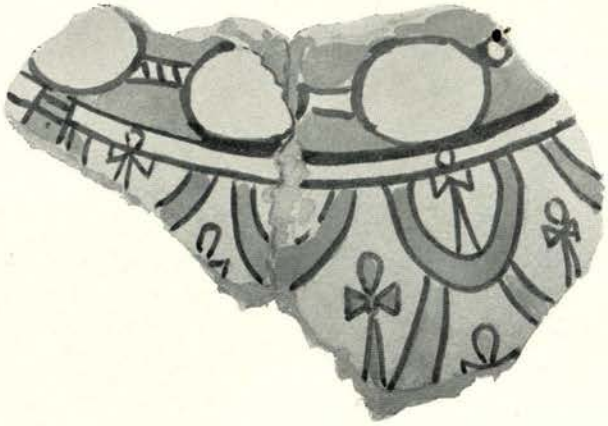


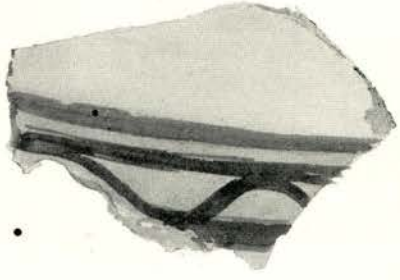
Vases from the Necropolis (restored).



Examples of vase decoration (scale 2 : 3).

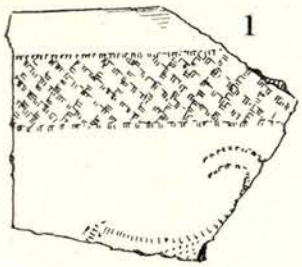
Examples of vase-painting (scale 2 : 3).





Examples of vase-painting (scale 2 : 3).

PATTERNS INCISED ON POTTERY FRAGMENTS (i)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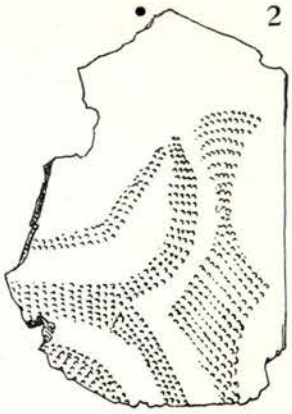
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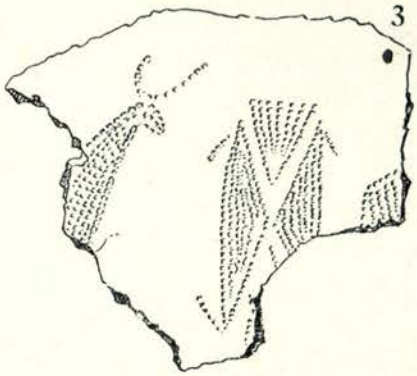
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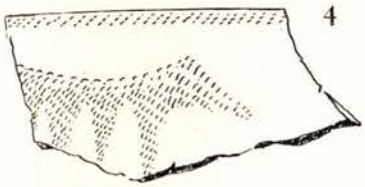
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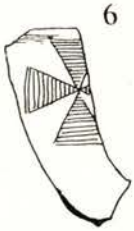
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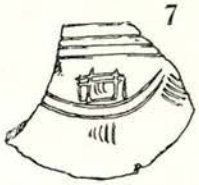
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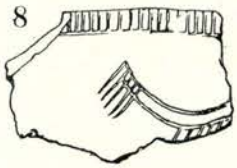
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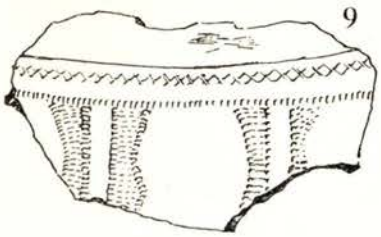
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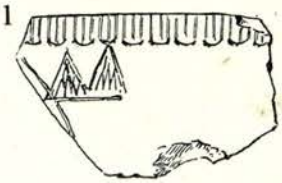
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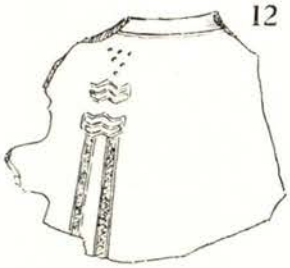
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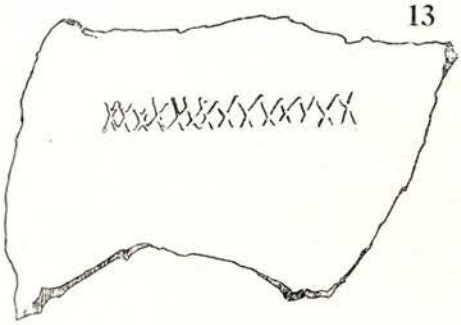
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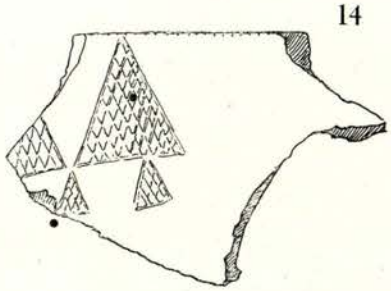
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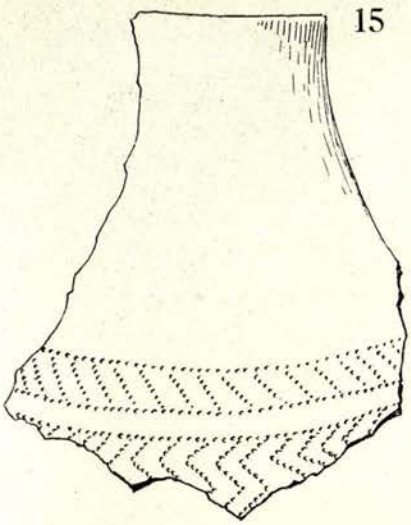
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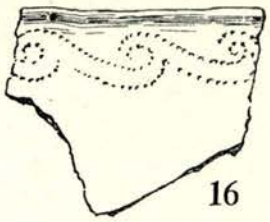
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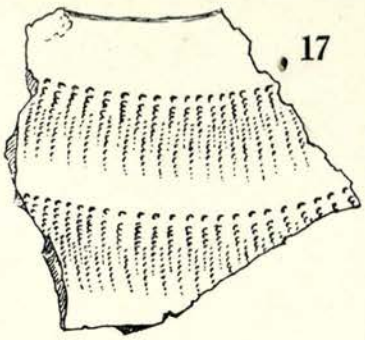
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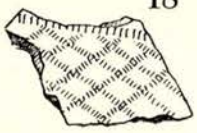
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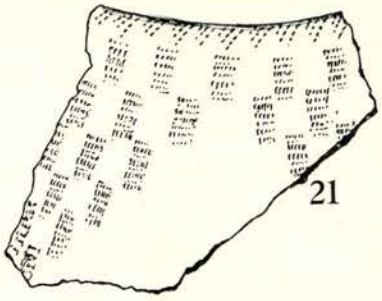
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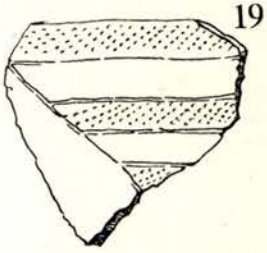
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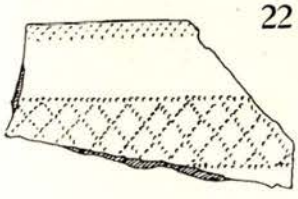
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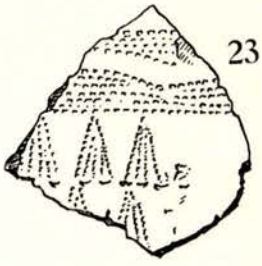
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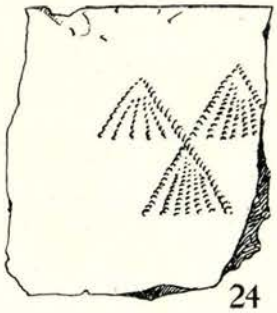
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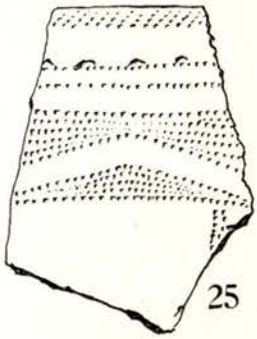
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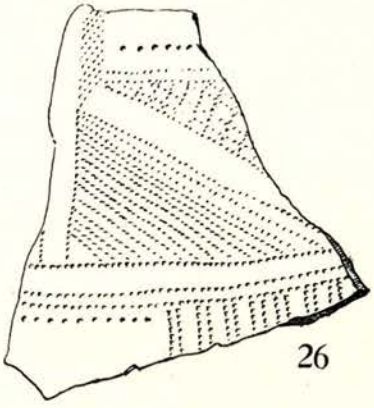
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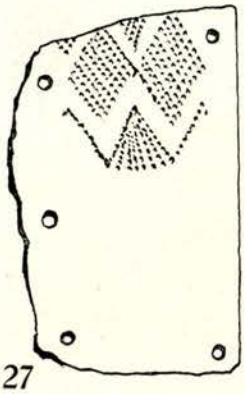
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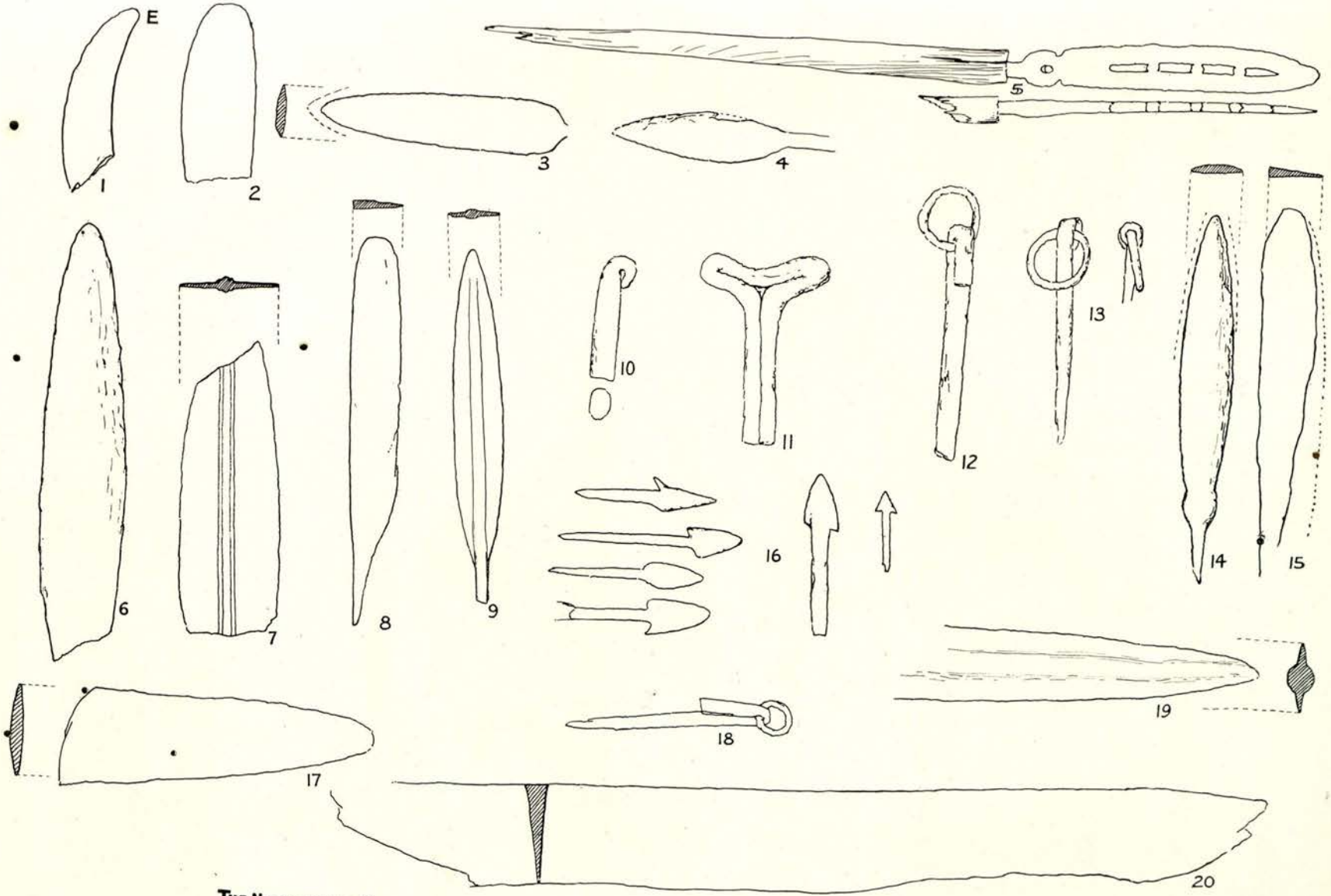


THE NECROPOLIS. SPECIMENS & SECTIONS OF IRON IMPLEMENTS & FITTINGS. (SCALE ABOUT 2:5)

CHAPTER IX

THE DECIPHERMENT OF MEROITIC HIEROGLYPHS

By Professor A. H. Sayce

With Plates LV–LX.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions discovered among the ruins of Meroë are a welcome contribution to the small collection of texts in Meroitic hieroglyphs and enable us to determine the values of several of the letters in the Meroitic hieroglyphic alphabet. They also show that in addition to the letters a certain number of characters were used as ideographs and determinatives, at all events in the earlier period of the Meroitic script, and that it was only by degrees that the native hieroglyphic script became purely alphabetic.

The values of some of the letters have long since been determined, partly by Birch, partly by Brugsch and Erman, thanks to the fact that the names of Neteg-Amon and Amon-tari are found written in both Egyptian and Meroitic hieroglyphs. That three small circles are used to divide one word from another was also known, and Professor Erman has pointed out that ⌗ must denote 'a city', though his other identifications have turned out to be incorrect as they rested on a mistaken view of the direction in which the characters are to be read. This point has been settled by a brilliant discovery of Mr. Ll. Griffith, who has shown that the direction is the contrary of that adopted in Egyptian, the characters reading from the back and not from the direction towards which they look. A second equally brilliant discovery has been that of the equivalents of the hieroglyphic letters in the cursive Meroitic script.[1]

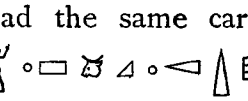
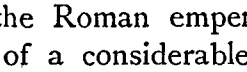
The hieroglyphic letters the values of which have already been fixed are (1) *a*, also written and ; (2) *m*; (3) *n*; (4) *t*; (5) *ta*; (6) *g*; (7) and *r*; (8) *i*. About the last two, however, there has been a doubt, and Professor Erman believed that (7) should be *i* and (8) *r*. All doubt has now been removed by two Meroë texts in which the name of Amon-tari appears with (8) following (7), while in a third text, which is written in Egyptian, the name is spelt .

In a paper I contributed last year to the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (June, 1909) I published an inscription on a table of offerings found by Professor Breasted in the chapel of one of the Meroë Pyramids, and now at Khartum. The inscription, which is in Egyptian, reads: 'A royal offering (*suten hotep-t-f*) to

[1] F. Ll. Griffith in MacIver, *Areika*, ch. ix.

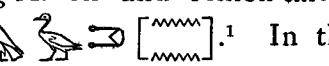
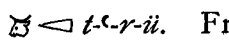
the priest of Osiris-Ra, master of the land of the Serpent,[1] *kh-s*, Ra-khnum-ab, son of the Sun, the good, Amon-r-ą-k-r, the Horus (of gold?).' Here the ideograph of 'country' is written which appears as in the pyramid-chapel of Kenrethr. Professor Erman had conjectured that the character might represent the Egyptian *per*, 'house.'

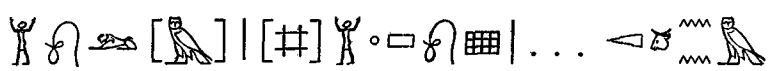
At Naga is sometimes written and (Egyptian), which for the sake of distinction I will transcribe *to*, and the word which on the 'Ram of Soba' is written *a-wa-r-a-toh* ( ) 'kingdom' appears in the geographical list of the Sun-temple at Meroë as *a-wa-r-u-to* ( ). Where the stucco has fallen the rough matrix of the character *to* in the underlying stone makes it occasionally difficult to distinguish it from *r* (7).

The excavations at Meroë have made it clear that a number of different kings all alike had the same cartouche, which in the case of Ark-Amon is written  , and was evidently, therefore, a title. Usually *g* is found in the place of the Egyptian , and , *to-r*, instead of , while the bull's head may be omitted altogether or inserted in some other place, and at Naga *t* takes the place of , and of . The only title I could find which would fit the characters the values of which were already known to me was *Autokrator*, which in Egyptian inscriptions similarly accompanies the names of the Roman emperors as a separate cartouche. This at once gives us the values of a considerable number of Meroitic letters. will be *a* like the Egyptian ; will be *u*; *a*, or better *o*; *to*; and *r* as in Egyptian. The bull's head must represent merely the breathing ʿ and will therefore correspond, as Mr. Griffith has already perceived, with the cursive /. will be the cursive , the cursive , while , as is shown by another monument discovered at Meroë, is the cursive ; the cursive /// is *ya*. One of the variants of the title at Naga is  *A-to-o-g-r(a)-to-ʿ-r U-ʿ*, 'Emperor of the land,' where the eye replaces *r-a*. We may therefore consider it to be the sonant *r*, and so to represent *ar* and *ra*. In the pyramid-chapel of Ra-uaz-ka Kalka, however, the eye (not the mouth, as given by Lepsius) is used, in Egyptian script, for simple *l* or *r*, 'the son of the Sun Ka-l( )-n-i-*det*, governor of the mountains,' being named by the side of 'Ba-l-t-l-a, lord of the rainy region.' Brugsch has pointed out (*Entzifferung der meroitischen Schriftdenkmäler*, p. 23) that Kalni must be the *Kelni*, 'Priest,' of certain demotic inscriptions at Philae, which I have found written ΓΕΛΝΙ in a 'Christian Nubian' inscription at Ferêg. Whether *uʿ* was actually the word for 'land' in Meroitic is of course uncertain; when

[1] The same phrase occurs on the north wall of the pyramid-chapel of Kenrethr, followed by 'of the water', which may therefore be a translation of the Meroitic word .

signifying 'land' the character may have been read ideographically with a different value.

On a stone found in the temple of Amon, along with the cartouches of Neteg-Amon and Amon-tari, is the cartouche of a new king [Ne]teg-Har-khuti  .[1] In the name of Amon-tari the second element is here written  *t-ᶜ-r-ü*. From the same chamber came a block with an inscription, the missing characters of which can be supplied from a Naga text:



M-n-ᶜ to . . . a-wa-r-o-[toh] [M-]r-wa-a, 'Amon . . . of the kingdom of Meroë.'

This leads us to certain passages in the inscriptions at Amâra and Naga in which the name of Meroë is also to be found. For the Amâra texts we are dependent on the copies of Lepsius, the remains of the temple having been utterly demolished, and not a stone left upon the site. The destruction is more complete even than that of the Meroitic temples at Kerma and Kawa (opposite New Dongola), a place which I would identify with the Primis Minor of classical geography. At Naga the human-headed Amon is described as *A-m-n-o n-ᶜ-toh-toh u-ᶜ-toh-* *u-ᶜ M-l-* (i.e. *M-ro-toh*) 'Amon, in human form (?), who dwells in the land of Meru'. In one instance a lion with the horns of the ram-headed Amon takes the place of the lion in the name of Meroë, and in another instance the name is replaced by *u-ᶜ M-n-o-* 'the land of Amon'. In yet a third instance we have *M-l-o-* , from which we may infer that had the syllabic value of *lo* or *ro*.

At Amâra the place of *M-l-o-toh* is taken by , which must therefore be read *M-ru-ü-toh*. This gives us the value of as *ru* or *ur*, or rather *rü* (for *ürü*?). That is equivalent to *to-h* is shown by a fragment from the Sun-temple, where *rü-g-ü-toh* is also written [*rü-*]*g-ü-toh-* .

The Amâra variants are interesting. There we find a number of words connected together by the suffix *-l*, perhaps signifying 'for', with variations in a particular part of the passage. Hence we have: *N-t-g-m-n-a A-m-n-a M-ü-rü-ü-toh-l M-n-a-ta-r-ü a-r-a-to-h-nen-l M-rü-ü-toh-l Au*[2]*-ᶜ-to-g-r-*[*-t*]*-r m-g-ü-rü-ü-g-ü-l M-rü-ü-toh-l*, possibly 'for Neteg-Amon, the Amon of Meroë, for Amon-tari the sovereign of Meroë, for the children of the Emperor (who dwells in) Meroë'. Then follow the variants. Text I has *to-h-nen-g-ü-l*, agreeing with *mgürü-gü-l*, and meaning, I believe, 'who inhabit.' Text II substitutes *i-o-r-ü-u-ü-l*; text III *a*()*-r-ü-wa-g-ü-l*, perhaps

[1] Revillout finds an Ethiopian king Hor-m-khuti or Harmakhis at Thebes at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes (*Rev. Égyptologique*, II. p. 145).

[2] If the copy of Lepsius is correct this will be the value of the character . The character exists, since it is found at Meroë and Naga, but I cannot resist the suspicion that here it has been mistaken for *a*. The copyist has overlooked *t* in the last syllable of the name. If is correct, it is possible that it was pronounced *ha* or *ah*. See, however, p. 53 further on.

'reigning in'; and text IV ᘐ-*r*[1]-*l*. Then in all four cases come the two words *A-l-*ᶜ*-toh l-* *-ra-to-h*, in the first of which I see the name of Alwa.

There is a parallel text at Naga which reads as follows: *A-m-n-a a-r-a-to-h-nen ta-l-g-to-h-to-h-l N-t-g-M-n-o A-m-n-a M-*[*ü-rü-ü-toh-l*] *M-n-a-ta-r-ü*[2] *a-r-a-to-h-*[*nen-l*] *M-rü-ü-toh-l A-to-g-r-t-*[*r*] *m-g-ü-rü-g-ü-l M-rü-ü-toh-l* ᘐ*-r-l*, with a variant *i-o*[3]*-r-ü-wa*[4]-[*l*]. The first three words answer to 'Amon, lord of the thrones of the two worlds' in the Egyptian inscription of A-ta-l-n-r-sa at Gebel Barkal. The third word is found in the cursive inscription behind the queen on the sandstone stela from the 'Kenîsa' at Meroë, with *t* instead of *ta*. The cursive form of *mgürü-gü-l* is found on a graffito in the temple of Amon (*a-o Men-n-o rü-ü-g-ü-l-o Men-g-l*(?)*-a-o m-g-ü-rü-*ᶜ*-g-ü-l-o a-o Men-n-o rü-ü-g-ü-l-o Men-n-r-o*, 'O Amon the life-giver (?) to the children of Amon (?), O Amon the life-giver (?), Amon-Ra').

The name of Meroë is frequently met with in the cursive texts, written sometimes *M-l-*ᶜ, sometimes *M-rü-ü*, sometimes *M-r-ü*, sometimes in other ways. But the explanations of these texts I must leave in the able hands of Mr. Ll. Griffith.

We find in them, however, the same equivalence between Meroë and the land of Amon as in the hieroglyphic texts. The king, for instance, to whom belongs the lengthy cursive Meroitic inscription at Kalabsha calls himself 'king of the kingdoms of the people of Amon in Meroë' (*a-ü-r-o-toh-rü-ü M-rü-ü-ê Men-o-to-g-ü*, where *aüro-toh* represents the *a-wa-r-o-toh* quoted above).

The phonetic value of the vase ᘐ is difficult to determine. Brugsch pointed out that it is one of the letters in the 'Christian Nubian' inscriptions which, like *h*, must have represented a sound not recognized by the Greek alphabet. At Naga the following inscription is attached to the figure of the ram-headed Amon: [*A-*]*m-n-o l*[5]-ᘐ *a-r-o-a-toh ta-l-g-to-h-to-h*, where a natural rendering would be: 'Amon the ram of Aloa, (lord) of the two worlds.' Another inscription attached to the same figure reads: *A-m-n* BA[6]- *-a a-wa-o-*[*r-o-*]*to-h* [*u-*]ᶜ [*M-*]*r-to-h*, 'Amon the ram of the kingdom of the land of Meroë.' The value of BA, the ram, however, is as much unknown as that of the vase. But in a half-destroyed inscription of Amon-tari at Naga, by the side of which the ram-headed Amon is depicted giving three symbols of life to the monarch, we have the word BA-ᘐ*-r-*ᶜ*-to-h*, where the vase is attached to the ram, apparently as its phonetic exponent.

Now at Naga the lion-headed deity is entitled *h-wa-r-o-to-h l-*BA*-r-to-h*, 'the consort of the ram (?),' and *n-t-g l-*BA[7]*-r-to-h*, 'minister of the ram (?),' and the first phrase recurs in the cursive inscription on the plaque found at Meroë, which represents the king making an offering to the lion-headed divinity. Here we have in

[1] Lepsius has *h*, but the corresponding text at Naga proves that the character is *r*.

[2] The copy of Lepsius is incorrect here.

[3] Lepsius has *h* instead of *o*.

[4] instead of or at Amâra. Perhaps the word is the Egyptian *âur*, Coptic ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ, ⲓⲁⲣⲟ, Heb. *yĕôr*, Ass. *yaru'u*, 'the Nile.' Dongolese Nubian has borrowed the latter word under the form of *uru*.

[5] The lion with the horns of a ram.

[6] i.e. the figure of a ram.

[7] Not the lion with a ram's horns, as in Lepsius.

lines 5, 6, *h-wa-r-o-toh a*[1]*-l-ra-toh*, which, by the way, gives as the cursive equivalent of *h*. Similarly, in a graffito on the steps at the west end of the temple of Amon we have *h-wa-r-o . . . l-ra-toh*, the intervening word being partly obliterated. These cursive texts make it plain that in the hieroglyphic versions the ram (BA) is purely ideographic, and that the word must be read *al-ra* (or *al-ro*), the vase having the value of *al*. In the 'Christian Nubian' inscription to which Brugsch drew attention is preceded by A and followed by E. The *l* represented by the character was more probably the sonant *ḷ* (becoming *al*, *la*, and *ala*) than a peculiar *l* like the Welsh *ll*. At all events the word *al-ro* occurs as the second element in the name of the king Piankhi-aloro, 'the living one (Amon) is a ram,' where the mixture of Egyptian and Meroitic need not surprise us; the same mixture is met with in the hieroglyphic texts in the Sun-temple in which, by the side of the Egyptian *ānkh-kh-i* Meroitic words occur. Hence we may conclude that the vase had the phonetic value of *ḷ* (or *al*), and that the word for 'ram' was *aloro*. The king, therefore, whose cartouches have been found at Basa by Mr. Peter Drummond, and published by myself in *PSBA*. (June, 1909), will have been Amon-Ra-aloro (*M-n-ra-aloro-* . .) who is entitled 'the Sun-god of the land of the rainy region'.

It further seems to follow that was either *lar* (*alor*) or *ar* (*r*); but see note 2, p. 51 above. A fragment found in the temple of Amon contains the end of a text which reads [*t-m-*]*t t-l-l* *-r-i* - - -[*toh* ?]. With this we must compare the inscriptions attached to the figures of the Nile-gods at Naga: (I) *a-ta a-r-ü-u-wa r-wa-a t-l-l-wa ru-a . . . g-ü-to-h*; and (II) *a-ta* *t-m-t t-l-*[*l-wa . . .*]. Perhaps the vase is here used ideographically to denote the inundation or the irrigated land, the reed-bed ( ) being the equivalent of *ha* or *ur*. The vase found by Lepsius in the name of a king at Meroë, whom he identifies with a king called Amon-mer-asr- Rā-ānkh-nefer-het at Gebel Barkal, does not exist. The name has been miscopied, and is really Amon-mer-Ast Rā-ānkh-nefer-hotep ( ). In one instance the name has been written defectively without the of Ast or Isis. The king is entitled 'the governor of the nome of the two mountains (*mer ḥesep to pa-dui*)'.

With the exception of , the value of which is perhaps *p*,[2] the other hieroglyphs of the Meroitic alphabet have the same values as in Egyptian. As I pointed out in my paper in the *PSBA*., the name of one of Aspalut's officers, Amon-to-l-h-a-k-nen, compared with the Meroitic *ta-l-g*, shows that the lion represented *l* as in Egyptian, though the Meroitic had a tendency to aspirate it. It also shows that was

[1] Or perhaps *ü*.

[2] The A[r]k-Amon Rü-rü-qü Autokrator, whose cartouches we found in the Sun-temple, is further called A-ü-sh- -l-(t)- , 'the lord,' and it is tempting to identify the name with that of Aspalut, the builder of the temple. But it is difficult to see how Aspalut could have been entitled Autokrator.

nen, or rather, as I believe, *ng*, which usually comes at the end of a word. That was *h* is shown by names like Taharqa. The Meroitic *tohnen* (or better, *tohng*) appears as *tonen* in Kalo-Amon-tonen, the name of another official of Aspalut. As for *sh*, Brugsch was doubtless right in identifying the first element in the name of Sh-n-g-rü-ü-TA-to-h with the first element in the name of king Senka-Amon-seken, which was found at Gebel Barkal written in Egyptian hieroglyphs.

The exclusive use of the alphabetic letters in the hieroglyphic script was gradual, and was probably due to the example of the cursive alphabet. Some of them seem to have remained practically syllabic up to the end, and in the age to which the inscriptions of the Sun-temple belong they were combined with ideographs and determinatives, as well as with characters denoting syllables. It is somewhat curious that the characters representing *p*, *b*, and *kh* are not found in the ordinary texts, though they are met with in Ethiopian proper names on the Egyptian monuments. But they all occur in the names of foreign nations on the east side of the Sun-temple, under the forms , , and O, and *b* is also found in the inscription on the left side of the entrance to the uppermost terrace of the same temple.

The list of names of foreign nations gives us the Meroitic suffix of the plural. It begins with the words -ᶜ*g-ü a-wa-r-u-to-*ᶜ*g-ü*. Here the first word is shown by the initial ideograph to signify 'the men' or 'peoples', while the second, which is in agreement with it, is the word which we have had before under the forms of *a-wa-r-o-toh* and *a-ü-r-o-toh*. In *-gü*, accordingly, we have the suffix of the plural.

The suffix *-toh* is adjectival, as in *Kash-to*, 'the Cushite,' and seems to be connected with the word *to*, 'to dwell,' which we find in *to-nen* or *to-ng*. Its meaning is made clear by the royal name Mna-tohn-mᶜ-Marüü, which is an attempt to represent the Egyptian Amon-khent-m-Meru, 'Amon who dwells in Meroë.' I am inclined to believe that *toh* or *to*, 'to dwell,' may have been borrowed from the Egyptian *to*, 'earth.' At all events, the Egyptian god To-nen had the horns of the ram-headed Amon. The suffix *-toh* resembles in its use the Egyptian suffix *-ti*. By the side of *-toh* was another suffix *-ti*, which we find in the Meroitic hieroglyphic inscription at the entrance to the Sun-temple: 'flowers belonging to the festival' -*t-i*. The suffix *-nen*, or rather *-ng*, would be participial; *-l* denotes some case of the noun, perhaps the dative; while *-shi*, *-shü* probably signifies 'son of'.

To what family of speech the Meroitic language belongs it is, of course, impossible at present to say. But the Hamitic languages are excluded by the plural suffix which bears a remarkable resemblance to the Mahass Nubian plural suffix *-gū* (in Kenus *-jî*).[1] The word for 'king', *a-ü-r*, like that for 'lord', *aro*, also resembles the Nubian *ûrû*, but as this was borrowed from Egyptian the fact proves nothing. The ordinary word for 'sovereign', which denotes 'queen' as well as

[1] A second suffix of the plural in Mahass Nubian is *-rî*, which is curiously like the suffix in the word *aüro-toh-rü*, 'kingdoms,' quoted above, p. 52.

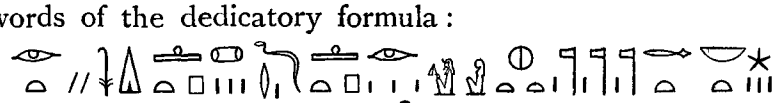
'king', appears to have been *tarü*, *tirü*, the plural being *tᶜrogü*. We meet with it in the name of Amon-tari (also written *tᶜro*, *tarü*, *ter*, and *tᶜrü*), 'Amon is king.' In a cursive text found at Meroë *tirü* interchanges with *tilü*.[1]

The Meroites, however, were not negroes. The ruling class is represented with high foreheads, straight noses, and thin lips, while the complexion was fair. The skin is painted red like that of the Egyptians or the people of Punt.

The list of subject peoples on the east side of the Sun-temple gives, to the right of the stairway: 'The men of the kingdoms of G-m-t-a, T-ᶜ-to-a, B-kh-ü-[illegible]-kh, P-t-kh-ᶜ-ü,' and to the left of it: 'A-n-rü-ᶜ, . .-rü-i-to-i, . .-wa-sh-ᶜ, . . - . . - n-k, . . - . .-t-r-a, the countries (?) of . .-g-ra-. ., . .-a-ᶜ-u, . . - . .-r-ᶜ, . . - . . - . .-a.' A fragment of another name also was found ending in -m-sh or possibly -m-r.

A knowledge of the art of writing was confined to a small class. The sandstone rocks of the Sudan are singularly bare of graffiti. I searched in vain for them on the cliffs east and west of Gebel Barkal, and in the neighbourhood of the quarries north of Meroë. In Egypt such localities would have yielded a rich crop of inscriptions. Even Greek and Coptic graffiti of the Christian age are very rare. It is not until the Arabic period is reached that graffiti on the rocks begin to be at all numerous.

On the other hand a knowledge of the Egyptian hieroglyphic script survived in the Sudan long after it had practically passed away in Egypt itself. The broken hieroglyphic tablet found at the foot of the high altar in the temple of Amon must have been placed there only a few hours before the destruction of the building. The fantastic hieroglyphs and extraordinary spelling of words in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Roman Egypt are wanting in the Sudan. There the script remained to the last what it was in the Ptolemaic era. The accusations of inaccuracy and bad grammar which have been brought against it are for the most part due to the errors of the modern copyist or the blunders of the illiterate sculptor. That 'Ethiopianisms', that is to say non-Egyptian words and grammatical constructions, should be found in it is only natural. But on the whole the Egyptian hieroglyphic texts of the Sudan are no worse than the monumental texts of the Greek period in Egypt. And at times they throw light on the latter. In the pyramid-chapel of Ark-nekhrel, for example, an interesting ritual fact is preserved in the opening words of the dedicatory formula:

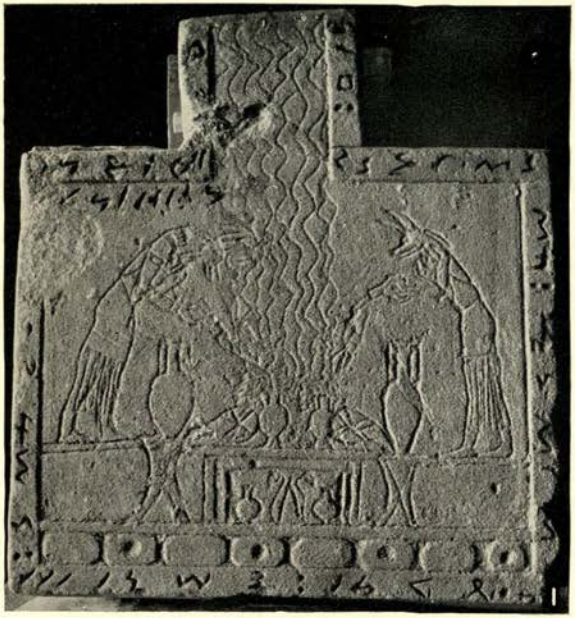


'Offer milk when beginning the ceremony *suten-du-hotep*, and bread when the words of the rite are recited, to the circle of the great gods, the lords, the stars'. Elsewhere a distinction is drawn between 'the great gods in heaven' and 'the divine stars in the earth'.

[1] On the other hand, the name of the king at Kalabsha, Kh(e)raz(?)iyaü, may be quoted in favour of a connexion of the language with that of the Blemmyes, documents discovered at Gebelên making mention of a Blemmyan king Kharakhên and his three sons Kharakhên, Kharapatkhur, and Kharazie.

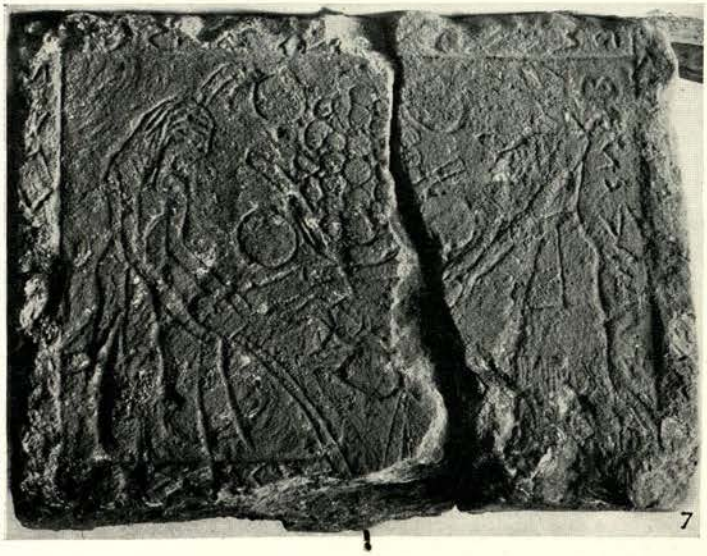
1.		*a*
2.		*o, a*
3.		*a*
4.		*KA*
5.		*aloro*
6.		*r* (*ro*)
7.		*r, l* (*lo*)
8.		*m*
9.		*ḥar*
10.		*g*
11.		*rii*
12.		*ro*
13.		*r*
14.		*ɛ*
15.		*ta*
16.		*ii* (*i*)
17.		*a*
18.		*i*
19.		*sh, s*
20.		*ar*(?), *au*(?), *ha*(?)
21.		*p*
22.		*ng*
23.		*r*
24.		*ro*
25.		*to*
26.		*toh*
27.		*h*
28.		*a*
29.		*toh*
30.		*u*
31.		*n*
32.		*t*
33.		*al* (?)
34.		*k*
35.		*t*
36.		*ḫ*
37.		*wa*
38.		*kh*
39.		*p* (?)
40.		*b*
41.		*tu*
42.		*akhti*
43.		*ankh*
44.		*uas*
45.		*nefer*
46.		*mer*
47.		*telü* (?)
48.		word-divider
49.		plural-sign

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NECROPOLIS

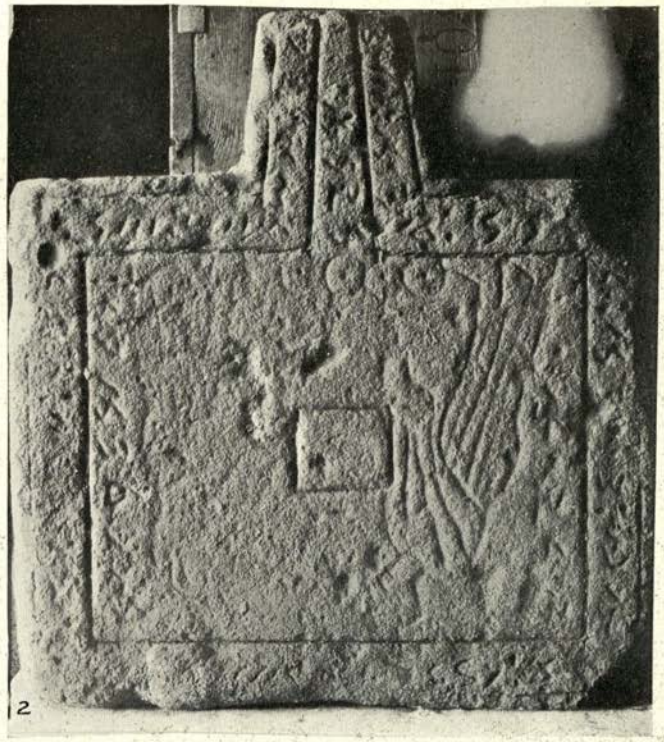


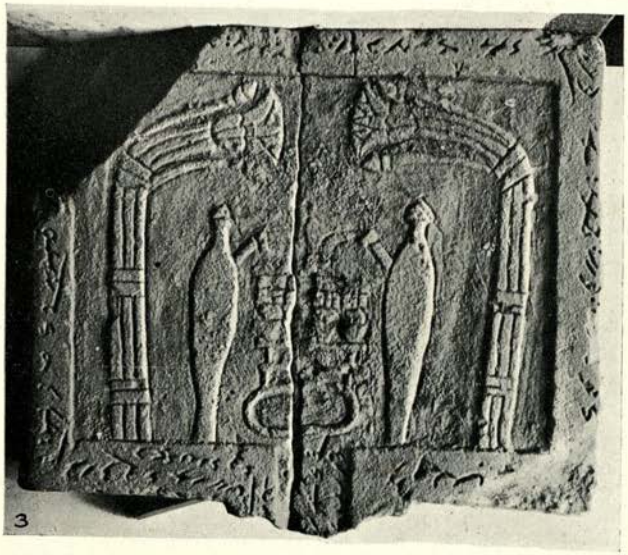
1. Altar with inscription (no. 25) from tomb 302.
2. Fragment with inscription (no. 23) from tomb 501.
3. Altar with inscription (no. 27) from tomb 307.
4. Altar with inscription (no. 24) from tomb 505.

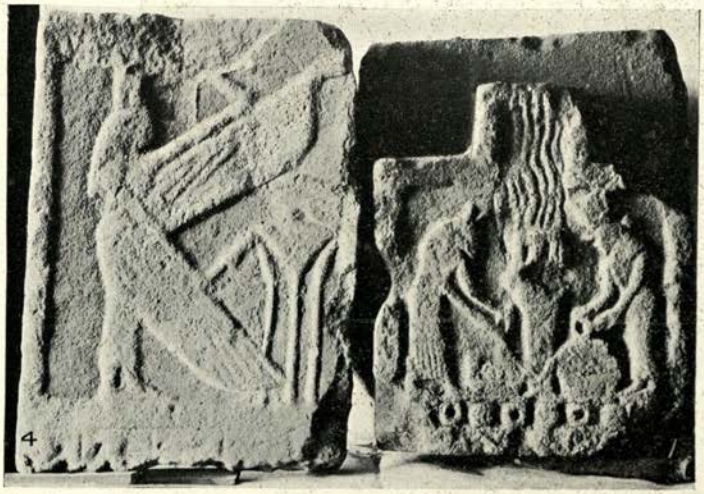
Votive altars with inscriptions (nos. 28–36 in sequence) from tomb 307.



1. Inscribed altar (no. 38) from tomb 307.
2. Inscribed altar (no. 39) from tomb 310.
3. „ „ (no. 40) „ „ 311.
4. „ „ (no. 37) „ „ 307.
5. „ „ (no. 41) „ „ 325.
6. „ „ (no. 42) „ „ 326.
7. Inscribed altar (no. 43) from tomb 327.





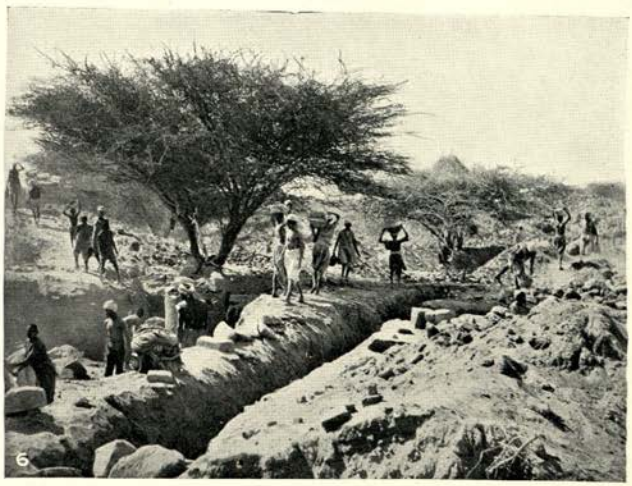


1. Cursive inscription (44) from tomb 340.
3. Altar with inscription (46) from tomb 362.

2. Altar with inscription (45) from tomb 362.
4. Stela (tomb 302) and altar (340), uninscribed.

1. Altar with inscription (no. 47) from tomb 362. 2. Altar with inscription (no. 49) from tomb 307. 3. Altar with inscription (no. 50) in Egyptian hieroglyphs from tomb 412. 4. Altar with inscription (no. 48) from tomb 362. 5. Cursive inscription (no. 51) from tomb 415.

SCENES FROM THE EXCAVATIONS, 1910



1, 2. Excavators' camp by the Nile. 3. Excavation of a ring tomb. 4. Opening of a small tomb.
5, 6. Clearing the Temple of Amon.

CHAPTER X

THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM MEROË

By F. Ll. Griffith

[With Plates LXI–LXXIV]

The fine series of inscriptions discovered in Prof. Garstang's excavations are a very important addition to the growing material for Meroite studies. The examples of the hieroglyphic script, scanty as they are, are welcome as giving promise of further finds. Hieroglyphic takes a special place in decipherment; the names and titles of a new prince (No. 2) are a particularly useful find at this juncture; on the other hand the unique list of conquered peoples (No. 1) is more curious than valuable, until some of the names can be identified, yet it furnishes interesting forms of the hieroglyphs.

The demotic inscriptions from the temples are of greater immediate importance than the hieroglyphic. The large stela (No. 7) from the temple of the lion-god, and the plaque (No. 5) of the king and the lion-god Apezemak, give especially valuable evidence to the decipherer. When fully read the temple series should prove to be of great interest. The texts from the cemetery are brief and of little interest compared to those from Lower Nubia, and being almost all badly written and in bad condition, are very unintelligible. But they are an earlier series than has hitherto been known: they help us in classifying the varieties of script and fixing the local and other peculiarities of the formulae at Meroë; and two stelae from the cemetery make known to us an interesting class of text hitherto represented only by a single obscure example from Karanog.

In the following pages and the accompanying plates the inscriptions are edited with remarks on those portions which appear to the writer to be most intelligible and interesting. The materials and arguments upon which the readings of the Meroitic inscriptions are based will be given in two works on which he had been engaged for many months when Prof. Garstang's finds were put into his hands—namely, the edition of the funerary texts of Dr. Randall-MacIver and Mr. Woolley's great find in Lower Nubia, *Meroitic Inscriptions from Shablul and Karanog* (vol. 6 of the Reports of the Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition), to be published by the University of Pennsylvania, here quoted as *Kar.*, and two volumes of Meroitic inscriptions from all parts to be published in the series of the 'Archaeological Survey' of the Egypt Exploration Fund (here quoted as *Inscr.*). To the progress there shown, the new inscriptions from Meroë have contributed not a little.

An attempt is here made to indicate the style and ages of the demotic or uncial[1] inscriptions by dividing them into the following classes (*c*—*g*).

(*c*) Tending to upright forms, in some signs closely following portions of the outlines in the corresponding hieroglyphs. Nos. 34, 35, 36/2, 41.

(*d*) , with large loops, with third stroke much shorter than the others. Nos. 5, 25, 27, 28–30, 36/1, 43, 45, 49. Nos. 6, 12, and 21 seem to fall between this and the next.

(*e*) with oval loop, as printed type, but with triangle, with backward curve. Nos. 24, 37, 40, 42, 44, 46.

(*f*) Transition from *e* to *g*. Nos. 23, 26, 38, 47.

(*g*) All letters as printed types. Nos. 7–10, 14, 51.

These classes are not strictly chronological: *c* and *d* are contemporary, as can be seen especially from No. 36 and the similarity of the altar designs in the two series. The others also probably follow one another closely, but several centuries may separate *c*, *d* from *g*. In the time represented by *f*, *g*, the Meroites no longer attempted to inscribe any kind of hard stone, and confined their engraving to sandstone; but inscriptions of this time abound in Lower Nubia, and the *g* type appear to have been in use in the third century A. D.

Inscriptions from the City and the Temples.

Inscriptions from the 'Sun-Temple' (1–4).

1. On the eastern façade of the 'Sun-temple' was a long row of figures of prisoners, north and south of the sloping approach. The cartouches upon the bodies are left blank in the north half, while on the south they are filled in with the names. Seventeen are still traceable here, but only nine are at all well preserved.[2] It is curious that though no architectural point of division is apparent, the first seven face to the right and the remainder to the left, and at the meeting-point of the two series with barbaric carelessness the cartouches are crowded, Nos. 8 and 9 being narrower than the rest for want of space. The figures and inscriptions appear to have been engraved on the plastered surface of the stone, and much of the plaster has fallen away, while the stone itself has perished at the outer end of the list. The engraving is very poor.

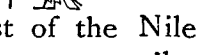
In endeavouring to fix the reading of the cartouches from the excellent photographs I have had Mr. Garstang's hand-copy from the original to compare. In these inscriptions the is curiously elongate, like a , and there are other peculiarities not yet met with elsewhere. To judge by the analogous representations on Egyptian temples, the figures should be symbolic of conquered

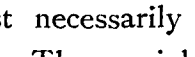
[1] No really cursive Meroitic writing has yet been found, and I have gone back to the old term 'demotic' which of course in this connexion must not be misunderstood as meaning Egyptian demotic, but signifies the ordinary writing character as opposed to the monumental hieroglyphic.

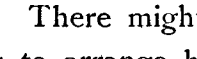
[2] See Pls. XXXIV and LXI.

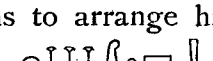
or subject places and peoples, and not portray individual captives. The right-hand series may represent people of the north.

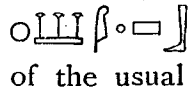
(1) Pt(i)rme, compare the name of the tribe Ptoembari on the west of the Nile and south of Meroë, Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 35. The first letter is almost necessarily , though there are unusual signs and forms of signs in this list. There might be a letter missing after , but the designer has been at no pains to arrange his spaces elegantly.

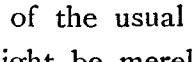
(2)  Bareshakh. The first sign seems to be the Egyptian *b* in place of the usual . The last is probably ḫ, usually in Meroitic: but it might be merely a punctuation mark for .

(3)  Têsni. seems here to stand for *t* as in Egyptian and so can be followed by . The Egyptian forms of , are used instead of the doubled Meroitic forms , .

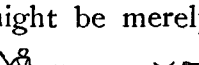
(4)  Kamti. The is very shapeless.

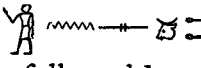
(5)  Wake. Compare *Βεγά, Βουγάειται*, the Bega tribes of the Eastern desert.

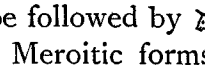
(6)  Awir. This inevitably suggests comparisons with such Ethiopian and Red Sea names as *Αὔα*, Abala, *Αὐαλίτης*, Auara.

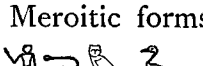
(7) Probably  Ayak.

The left-hand series (southern ?) is reproduced on Pl. 1 on a scale $\frac{1}{5}$th less than Nos. 1–7.

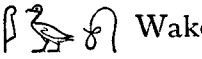
(8)  Yenzê. The *z* is a very uncertain value for .

(9)  . . zyry.

(10)  . wšê. The last letter is hardly .

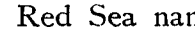
(11) 

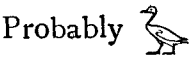
(12) . . tre.

(13) 

(14) . . . . gte might be equivalent to .

(15)

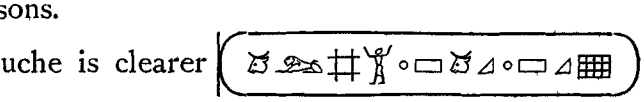
(16)  should be ḫ according to the Meroitic alphabet.

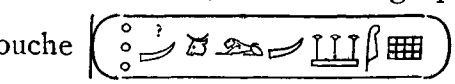
(17) 

The names (2) and (5) may perhaps be traced in an inscription on the temple of Dakka (*Inscr.* No. 92) which also records a name almost identical with that of the prince in No. 2. But this is very doubtful, and the Dakka inscription seems to be earlier.

2. Three blocks from the corridor surrounding the sanctuary preserve a fragment of the sculptures, together with three cartouches joined together.[1] The direction of the hieroglyphs shows that the cartouches are to be read from left to right (see MacIver's *Areika*, p. 50) and the dots ⁘ at the end of the third cartouche seem further to mark the end of the inscription. This is confirmed by the contents, the second and third cartouches being descriptive phrases added to the royal name in the first cartouche, just as they are added to the names of persons commemorated on the funerary stelae and altars. Fragments of the signs and (unusually long legged as elsewhere in this temple) are seen over the first and third cartouches, evidently remnants of the Egyptian royal titles which are usually so found in altered forms on the Meroitic monuments.

In the first cartouche many of the signs are injured. There is space before for a letter lost in the break; but no trace remains, and moreover the group is not uncommon in demotic. It seems therefore best to attribute the arrangement simply to bad spacing of the signs such as may be found in the position of the first in the second cartouche (the grouped with the is reversed here as in a similar position with in the second cartouche). We thus obtain a name Akinizaz (?) with , an honorific (?) affix to names of persons.

The second cartouche is clearer  , a descriptive phrase such as often follows a name, and meaning 'paqar of the king'.

In the third cartouche  the second is of quite different form from the first, and, so far as one can tell, is meaningless in that context. It seems best therefore to ignore it as a mistake, and so obtain a phrase 'the peštê' corresponding to that in the first cartouche.

The two titles paqar and peštê, of uncertain meaning, often occur in this order in demotic writing, and it is very instructive to meet with them here in the hieroglyphic form as the titles of one who is obviously a prince. For the knowledge of the alphabet, the equations of with the demotic given by these cartouches and other inscriptions below, are especially valuable, as the evidence for their identity from the material previously known was particularly weak.

[1] See Pls. XXXV and LXII.

With the three cartouches of this royalty we may compare the two cartouches of the third royal personage or prince in the temple of the lion-god built by Natikamani at Naga (L. *D.* V. Bl. 60, *Inscr.* Nos. 17, 20). The two cartouches (connected together by a number of horizontal lines) read (Arik-kharêr) (great (?) paqar). Meroite kings and queens often have two cartouches, but then, so far as is known, one of them is a regular Egyptian prenomen beginning with ⊙, and only the nomen is written in Meroitic. It is clear from the similarity of the titles that Akinizaz was a prince like Arik-kharêr, and not a king, and this is confirmed by the remains of the figures on the blocks; the head to which the cartouches belong is that of a young man (apparently) with a very simple broad fillet or crown like that of Arik-kharêr: while in front of the cartouches are the uraeus and horns of an elaborate head-dress exactly like that worn by King Natikamani in front of the prince.

It is now possible to restore the scene approximately, with the help of the Naga representation. The king and prince are worshipping one or more deities. The remarkable object in front of the prince's face is a highly developed ☥; the loop at one end was held in the claw of some bird (destroyed), the other end is divided into three ribbons, each terminating with the loop of ☥, and curves towards the prince's nose. This symbolizes the presentation of life to his nostrils by the divine bird.

The name of the prince Akinizaz is closely paralleled by Akizaz, one of the names in an early royal inscription (of style *d*) on the temple of Dakka (*Inscr.* No. 92). This inscription has been referred to above.

It would be interesting to know why a third personage is so often represented along with the king and queen on Meroitic temples. Professor Erman believed that he was viceroy of a province, because not only do two different princes appear on two temples (of different ages?) at Naga but also a third occurs at Amara, in each case with a king Natikamani and a queen Amanitêre. But some considerations point to his being the son and heir of the king, while it would be reasonable also to suggest that he was an eponymous prince or priest, distinguishing the members of a dynasty of homonymous kings and queens like the Ptolemies and Cleopatras of Egypt. It is perhaps not too bold to suggest further that Akinizaz was an adjunct of the dynasty of kings and queens characterized by the names Natikamani and Amanitêre-Candace (see below).

It is worth noting that one loop of the ☥ near the nose of the prince is filled with stucco. This suggests that at some period of reconstruction the whole scene was completely hidden by plastering.

3. Near the blocks with these cartouches were other blocks showing the middle part of a royal personage in magnificent robes, perhaps belonging to the figure of the king himself.[1] Several demotic characters are engraved below the forward

[1] See Pl. XIII (iii).

arm, but are interrupted by the hollow of the sculpture, and have been plastered over at some time. It would seem as if this graffito had been engraved before the stone was sculptured and had been cut away by the sculptor: but it is perhaps equally probable that the characters were cut after plaster had been laid level over the sculptures and thus this cutting never reached the stone in the hollows.

4. On the outer side of the east wall of the sanctuary, to right and left of the doorway, were inscriptions in debased Egyptian hieroglyphic,[1] which, like the similar ones in the shrines of the pyramids, seem to have been almost unintelligibly written to begin with, and are now in addition much destroyed. It is not likely that the language is Meroitic: it is probably Egyptian so far as it is anything. In fact in the fifth line on the left it seems possible to read in Egyptian—'shining (?) (in) heaven as lord of the gods', which would be applicable to the sun-god or to Ammon, or indeed to most deities.

Inscriptions from the Temple of the Lion-god (5–11).

5. A thin plaque of unusually good workmanship[2] shows on one face a figure of the lion-god, and on the other a king in the attitude of adoration. The material is a dark red slate; the plaque has split with the cleavage into two flakes, and each half independently is further broken.

The god is of the type seen in the temple of the lion-god and on the column of the Ammon temple at Naga, of human form, lion-headed, and wearing a remarkable head-dress, consisting of three bundles, flanked by feathers and crowned uraei, and supported on a pair of horizontal ram's horns. This head-dress is often seen in the Egyptian temples on the heads of the Ptolemies and Roman emperors, and is also associated with Thoth, who was worshipped at Dakka, and Mandulis of Kalabsha. The Egyptian lion-god Mihôs, Miysis, 'fierce-eyed lion,' ordinarily wears a simpler form of the same, one bundle between feathers. In his right hand the god holds a sceptre surmounted by a lion, and perhaps a bundle of ears of corn, while in his left he holds a coiled band terminating in ☥, the symbol of life, as if offering it to the king on the other face. The figure is broken off at the knees and part of the head-dress is lost. An inscription in early demotic is in a panel in front of the head-dress, and it seems probable that no other inscription existed on this face.

The figure of the king is similarly imperfect, and in addition the breast and forearms are injured. The king wears the same crown as the god surmounting a helmet with two streamers at the back, an ample cloak and jewellery, conspicuous amongst which is a large ear-ring in the shape of the head of the Ammon ram. His right forearm was raised in front so that the tips of the fingers are seen before the left shoulder, and the left held some object, possibly a sceptre, the top of which remains, crowned with uraei. On either side of the head are inscrip-

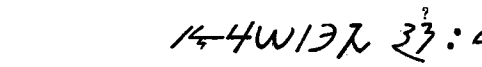
[1] See Pls. XXXV (ii, iii) and LXII.

[2] See Frontispiece and Pl. LXIII.

tions, and, considering the smaller size of the figure, there may have been space for several lines below the feet, as on the Isis stela No. 12. The panel for the inscription in front is sharply indented near the top, suggesting that a small representation of the winged disk was over the king's head.

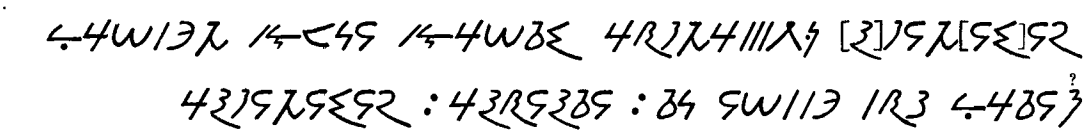
The inscriptions (style *d*) are

(**a**) In front of the god



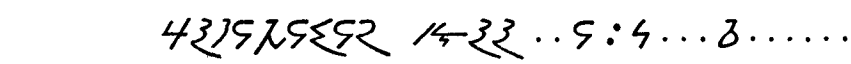
the first letter is very uncertain. If not a numeral or other special symbol, it can hardly be anything but a version of or an unfinished .

(**b**) In front of the king

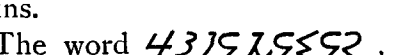


the curve of the corner of the plaque shows that the top line is preserved.

(**c**) Behind the king

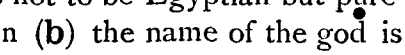
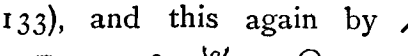
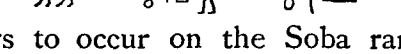


there are five lines and fragments of lines from the end of an inscription which may have consisted of fifteen short lines when complete. Apparently about a third remains.

The word  , Apezemak, can be recognized, filling the central column of the legend on the right of the triple-headed lion-god at Naga (*Inscr.* No. 18); as the other two lines are phrases repeated with other divinities, it is evident that this is the name of the god. A portion of the name also remains with the single-headed lion-god on the same temple (*Inscr.* No. 6). It occurs with slight variants in the inscriptions 7–10 published below.

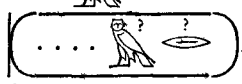
The identification of this name (with the establishment thereby of the obscurely written text at Naga) is an important step forward in decipherment. The name seems not to be Egyptian but pure Meroitic.

Inscr. No. 18.

In (**b**) the name of the god is followed by  which seems to occur on the figure of the lion-god in the Louvre (*Inscr.* No. 127, compare the invocation in *Inscr.* No. 133), and this again by  , closely analogous to  in the inscriptions of the deities at Naga. appears to occur on the Soba ram (*Inscr.* No. 1) and in the early variants of the funerary formula or benediction A, see below, p. 79.

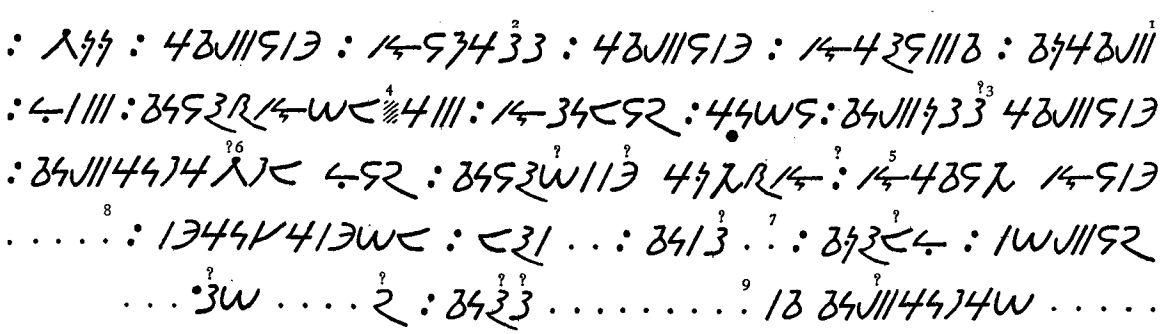
, 'king,' commonly follows the royal name, and it seems probable here that the preceding Shanê is the king's name.

The inscription (**b**) looks like an address to the god, (**c**) was probably another prayer, and (**a**) may be the reply of the god.

6. It is very unfortunate that this remarkable stela,[1] sculptured and inscribed on both sides, is so much injured. The lower part has gone, and of one face scarcely anything intelligible remains except at the top, where a winged disk is seen with a cartouche, now illegible or nearly so, in the centre between the pendent uraei. Below, there seem to be on the left feathers belonging to some winged deity, and on the right a portion of an ornamental garment that may have clothed a royal figure worshipping the deity. Perhaps the wings belonged to a figure of Isis standing behind and protecting Osiris, standing or enthroned, as on the stela published in *Inscr.* No. 49 from a pyramid at Meroë, or possibly the lion-god himself here replaced Osiris, see No. 7. In the cartouche an or perhaps is fairly clear with one sign above, perhaps , making  . Very probably some lines of inscription were engraved below the scene.

Though of the same workmanship and probably intended to be seen along with it, the design and inscription on the other face seem to be quite independent of the last. At the top is a vulture-winged scarab, the hind legs terminating in hands which hold the orb of the sun, as a scarab rolls the pellet of mud with its hind legs. The corresponding representation in Egypt however substitutes Q for the O pellet; this is a well-known solar figure in the late Egyptian age, representing Horus of Edfu, see BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 375, 376, 424, &c. All the lion-gods in Egypt were solar, and Horus of Mesen, who corresponds closely to Horus of Edfu, was especially a lion, so that it is very natural that these two forms of solar deities—lion and winged scarab—should be found in the same temple at Meroë, belonging to a period when mixture of forms was particularly prevalent.

The inscription is written in an early style (*d–e*), and it is important for the history of the writing that the sculpture appears to be not earlier than the first century B.C. and might well be later.



[1] See Pls. XXIII and LXIII.

l. 6. read perhaps . The original, in the Khartum Museum, would probably repay examination. The copy is made solely from the photograph.

Probably not more than half of the inscription is preserved; several of the words occur elsewhere, but it is very unintelligible. It seems to begin with a name followed by descriptive phrases; , Sewitiw, may be the name of the deity, and perhaps is to be connected with that of the Egyptian solar deity Show (*Šw*).

7. The next inscription[1] is of later date (style *g*). It is on a large stela, sculptured on one side only. The inscription, of eighteen lines, is surmounted by a winged disk of the sun: through the tablet having been cut down for re-use the first six lines are imperfect at each end, while some portions are worn or otherwise injured. The greater part of the long inscription, however, can be recovered, and contains several groups that are already intelligible and many repetitions. I made a rapid copy of this in Prof. Garstang's camp at Meroë, and have corrected the copy with Mr. Schliephack's excellent photographs.

The printed copy is intended to display the structure of the inscription in parallel phrases as far as possible.

[1] See Pls. XXIV and LXIV.

l. 1. The first word is the name of the lion-god, written without the initial 𐦲 as on the square stands. The second looks like a place name 'in Shêbêre (?)'. With this may perhaps be compared that of the Σεμβρῖται.

l. 2. There are signs that the stela has been covered with plaster and corrections made through the plaster faintly: thus the first 𐦲 of the frequent word 𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷 is always faint: faint lines of corrections also appear in the last word in this line.

l. 3. Here begins a list of local forms of Isis and Horus, which continues to l. 12.

Isis in Philae, mother (?), . . Philae . . .
Horus, the child (?) . . Philae . . .
Isis in Atiye, . . Atiye . . .
Horus in Atiye, . . Atiye . . .
Isis in Tebawe, . . Tebawe . . .
Horus in Tebawe, . . Tebawe . . .

There is much that is unintelligible as yet; but it seems that Isis and Horus are associated here with the lion-god Apezemak in place of Osiris. This is confirmed by the arrangement of the deities in the temple of the lion-god at Naga, where Isis leads the goddesses as Apezemak leads the gods: and it also helps to explain the remnants of the wings of Isis on the obverse of stela 6, just described. No instance is known of Apezemak supported by the winged Isis, and Osiris was probably so figured on No. 6. But from the solar point of view Osiris was the dead sun-god, and there was some show of reason for the Meroites making Apezemak, the sun-god while living, the husband of Isis.

This may be the very heresy which is inveighed against in a papyrus from Elephantine; here an Egyptian is threatened with the wrath of heaven for having followed the 'Blemmyes' and neglected the worship of Osiris to adore Arsenuphis. Arsenuphis was identified with the sun-god Show, and Mr. Blackman has pointed out to me that he is figured as a lion in the chamber of Osiris at Philae (Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. XC). He is seen in human form in many of the later temples of Lower Nubia; and as Mr. Blackman has shown, he is substituted for Osiris as the husband of Isis at Dendûr (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxxii. 33). Between Arsenuphis (and other deities in the temples of Lower Nubia) and Apezemak in the far south the analogy is close.

Philae is spelt Pileqe, like Coptic ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲕ, as in many inscriptions on the island itself (*Inscr.* 95, &c.).

Atiye is a particularly interesting name; it occurs at Sedênga (*Inscr.* No. 81, cf. 129), and Messrs. Breasted and de Garis Davies found the Egyptian name of Sedênga in the New Kingdom to have been 'Fortress of Teie', the temple having been dedicated by Amenophis III to his famous queen (Breasted, *Monuments of Sudanese Nubia*, p. 98). The Meroitic name is thus evidently A-Tiye, the Egyptian Ha-Tiye with the *h* dropped as usual; and the vocalization of the queen's name shown in the Meroitic spelling agrees well with that of the Assyrian, which is transcribed

Teie by Knudtzon in his edition of the Amarna letters. It is very noteworthy that the ancient Egyptian name of the place continued in use down to the first centuries of our era, and can be traced in the modern name Adai close to the ruins of Sedênga: perhaps the queen herself was identified with Isis.

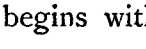
At Philae Tebawe seems to correspond to P-iwabe (?), the 'Holy Spot' or *Ἄβατον* of the graffiti, which is constantly associated with Philae itself, and is thought to be the island of Biga.

The inscription may perhaps be rendered thus:—

The yesbêkhe of Apizemak in Shêbêre, lord (?) of Kem, bêwize of the king, Bi(?) . . kaye.
belonging to the yesbêkhe of Isis in Philae, the mother (?), lady (?) of Philae.
belonging to the yatkize of Horus the child (?), lord (?) of Philae.
belonging to the yesbêkhe of Isis in Atiye, lady (?) of Philae.
belonging to the yatkize of Horus in Atiye, lord (?) of Atiye.
belonging to the yesbêkhe of Isis in Tebawe, lady (?) of Tebawe.
belonging to the yatkize of Horus in Tebawe, lord (?) of Tebawe.
belonging to the yatkize of A[m]anapate at (?) Napata, the mighty (?) god.
belonging to (?) the yire of . . . . . in Webakhe (?) . . .
belonging to (?) the natame (?) of Arêkhir (?) of Webakhe (?) . . .
belonging to the yire of . . rek the . . .
belonging to the natame (?) of Terish the . . . .
. . . . . .

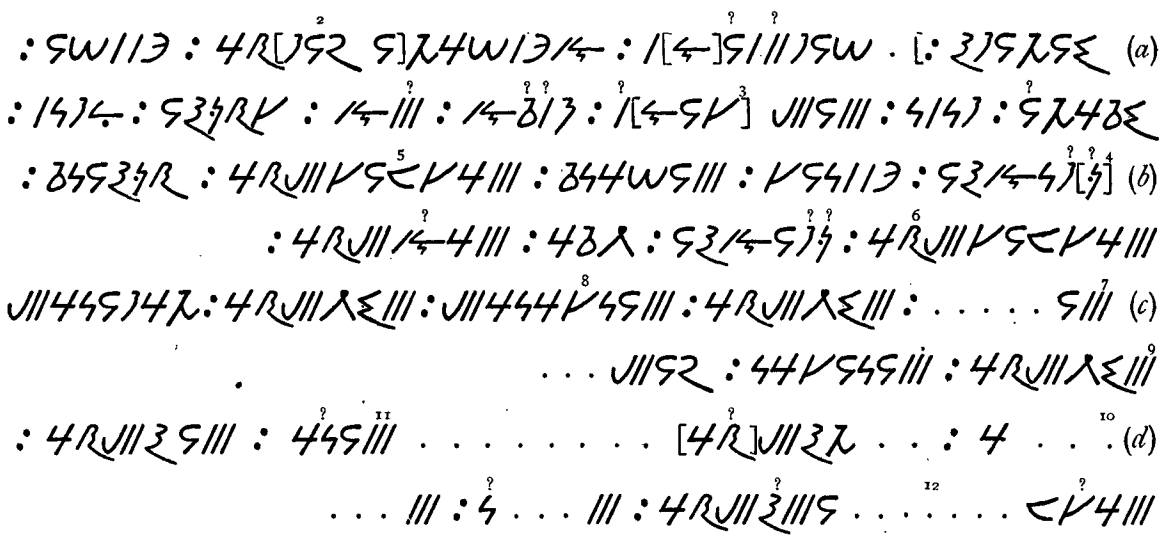
Amanapate might well represent Amenhotp I, II, or III as founder of Napata; transposition of p and t in hotp (hatp) is not unexpected. Except the last two words the whole appears to be descriptive of the dedicator Bi(?) . . kaye. In what precise sense he 'belongs to' or is 'of' the people or institutions or whatever else may be represented by yatkize and parallel expressions, is not as yet determinable.

8–10. Three square blocks[1] were found in the temple, each about 6 inches thick and 45 cm. or 18 inches square, inscribed with three lines of demotic (style *g*) on all four sides. The stone is very friable, especially in 8, and several signs are now destroyed that are visible on the photographs taken at Meroe.

In both 9 and 10 one side begins with  , the initial word in 7, and it is obvious where the same word has been lost in a gap in 8. In this we have a pretty clear indication of where each inscription begins. They are evidently addressed to the god Apezemak, and from the shape of the stones it is very probable that each supported a figure of the god, either as a sitting lion or standing in human form. Unfortunately there is very little in the inscriptions that can be understood.

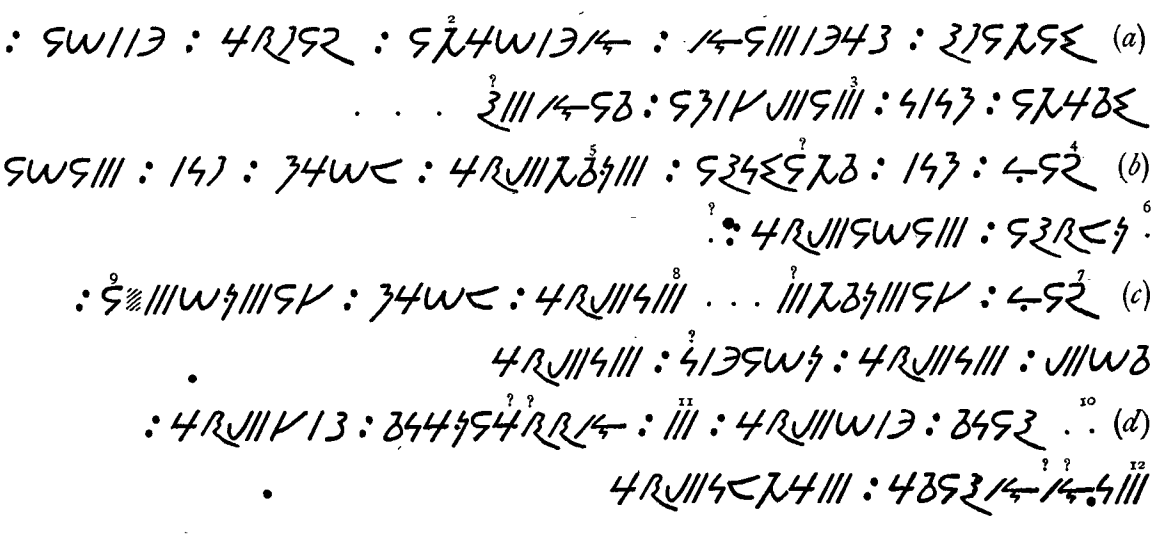
[1] See Pls. XXV–XXVII and LXV–LXVII.

Inscription No. 8 :—



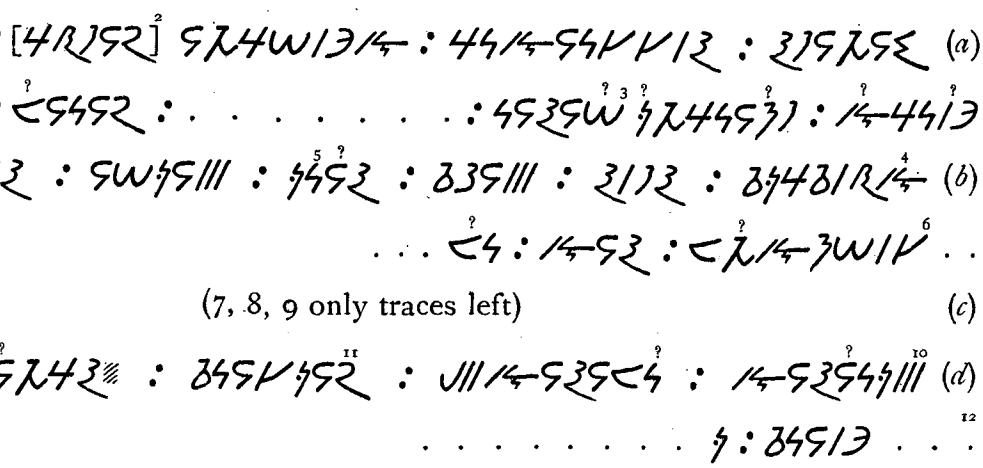
The block is in a bad state. Side (*a*) must have measured originally about 46·50 cm., but, measured from the top of the 𐦠 at the beginning of l. 2, the loss at the right-hand end is about 9 cm.; nearly the whole of l. 1 seems to have gone since the photograph was taken, and the lower corner, including the end of l. 3; the first two lines are here restored from the corresponding part of No. 9. Side (*b*) (44·50 cm.) is well preserved except at the lower right-hand corner which is now perhaps lost; in l. 6 𐦠𐦁𐦍𐦀𐦠𐦀𐦀𐦀 probably some alteration has been made and 𐦍 or the like might be read for 𐦠; the 𐦁 has the right leg short. Side (*d*) is in a bad state; it originally measured about 44 cm., but, counting from the end of the 𐦍 in 𐦠𐦍𐦀𐦀𐦀, 9 cm. are lost at the left end.

Inscription No. 9 :—



in better condition than the others. l. 11 : 𐦀𐦄𐦄𐦅𐦌𐦁𐦂𐦆 : (altered?), or 𐦃 for 𐦌.

Inscription No. 10:—



(7, 8, 9 only traces left) (*c*)

this block has evidently suffered from exposure. Of 9 and 10 I took hasty copies in Professor Garstang's camp at Meroë, and have completed these with the photographs and the originals exhibited in London.

The bulk consists of words and word-forms that are little known. At the beginning of each we see the name of the lion-god, followed apparently by a place-name which varies in each text: . . remye (?), Shiqye, Kêbable. After these in each is the name of a king 𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦅 : 𐦅𐦁𐦄𐦌𐦃𐦆 Teqrize-Amani. The name agrees with the remains of a king's name, . . q . ze-Amani, copied by Lepsius's expedition in No. 27 of the northern group of pyramids at Meroë (*Inscr.* No. 58). The altar from the same pyramid, however, seems to give 𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦅 𐦅𐦌𐦀𐦃𐦅𐦉, Timeqêrze-Amani, as the complete name (*Inscr.* No. 59), and the style of writing on the altar is somewhat earlier (style *e-f*) than that of the bases. Thus the two kings can hardly be identical, but they may have been of the same dynasty.

After the dedication we may conjecture that adorations and prayers followed. Two paragraphs in 9, each commencing with a fresh side (*b*, *c*), appear to begin with 𐦄𐦅 atê, 'water,' seen in the funerary formula A and elsewhere, and in 8/3 𐦆𐦆𐦄 is apparently 'abundant water' or the like. In 8/4 we have a word 𐦋𐦅𐦆𐦀 which seems to mean 'images'.

11. Above the helmet and spear of a warrior sculptured on a block from the same temple are a number of demotic characters [1] faintly incised in two lines. It is evidently a graffito, but I am not able to make a copy of it worthy of publication.

[1] See Pl. XIX (1).

Inscription from the Kenîsa or Isis (?) *Temple* (12, cf. 22).

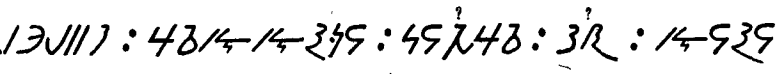
12. A small granite stela[1] was found lying on the floor of the earlier structure. Its top is rounded, and on one face are engraved a scene of a king before Isis and inscriptions.

The king wears an uraeus diadem on his head, and is crowned with plumes and disk; on his feet are large sandals; his dress is a short tunic with two long pendants and tassels from the girdle, while over the right shoulder and under the left arm is a broad band of uraei. In the left hand he holds a sceptre with a hawk's (?) head, while his right hand is raised in adoration of the goddess.

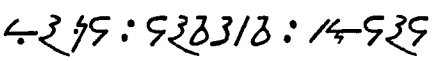
Isis, crowned with vulture disk and horns, is standing, holding a palm branch the leaves of which form a series of ☥, the terminal one curving to the nose of the king. In front of her is a bowl on a stand with two wine-dippers hung from the rim.

Above all is the winged disk, and lines have been engraved for a label as if to contain the names of the king and the goddess, but these have not been filled in. Short demotic inscriptions are behind each figure, and below the scene are four horizontal lines of cursive. The inscriptions are obscurely engraved on the hard granite in the earlier style (style *d–e*). The lines below the scene seem to be adapted to the shape of the stone, which had probably long served as an oval corn grinder before being re-used for a tablet.

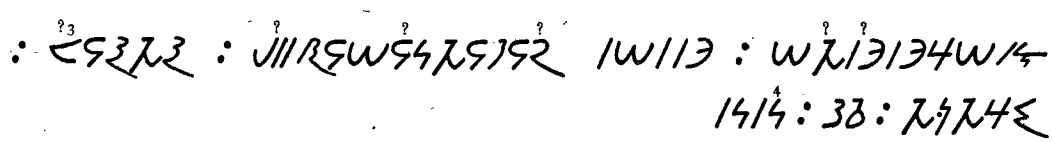
(**a**) behind the king.



(**b**) behind Isis.



(**c**) below the scene.



the readings are by no means certain, and even the succession of the signs is doubtful in (**c**), and others may be missing.

In (**b**) we duly find 𓊪𓏏 Wêsh, the name of Isis: the other two groups recur in (**a**). In (**c**) there is the name of the king Teriqaqzar or Teriteqñir followed by his title, and at the end 𓊪𓏏 probably is Isis again.

Inscriptions from the Ammon Temple (13–18).

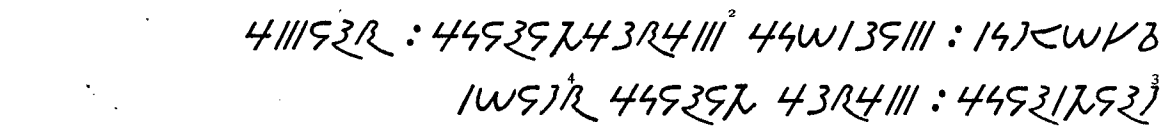
13. On a block[2] in the side of the staircase[3] to the most westerly chamber (275), in the temple of Ammon, are some curious graffiti, a lion's head full face,

[1] See Pls. XIX (iv) and LXVIII.

[2] See Pls. XIX (ii) and LXVIII.

[3] See Pl. IX (i).

a figure of a dead or prostrate man stretched across a rough rectangle filled with vaguely incised figures of men and animals, and, to the left of all this, an inscription of four lines in a peculiar style that may be identified with 'style *f*'.

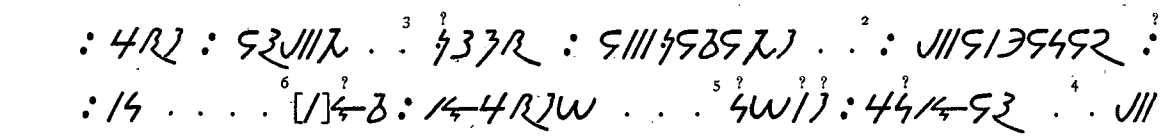


l. 1. 𐦠𐦠𐦠 : was originally written and then altered by hollowing and cutting deeper to 𐦠𐦠𐦠.

l. 3. 𐦠𐦠𐦠 may be the name of the lion; the word occurs, probably as that of a god, on the columns of Naga and Amara (*Inscr.* Nos. 34, 84).

14. On a block[1] from the east face of the outer wall, low down.

At the top are traces of a line of inscription in small characters. Six lines of very large characters (style *g*) occupy almost the whole of the face. The block has been much cut about, especially at the right-hand end, perhaps in grinding or smoothing arrows. The end of the inscription is clear in the sixth line, and l. 1 was doubtless the first of the inscription; but it is doubtful whether the beginnings and ends of the lines are preserved.

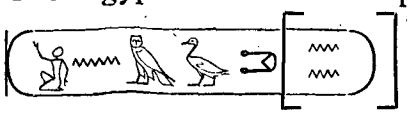


The first word occurs as the first word remaining on the statue of Isis from Napata (*Inscr.* No. 75), where there is likewise some doubt as to whether the beginning is preserved. Here there may be traces of : preceding it. The next, . . mazetye (?), must be the name of the writer by the ending. In the next line we have his title 'zasake of Ammon in (?) . . . ke'. The rest is obscure.

15. Blocks from a wall that formed part of the central building in the entrance hall (Spot 279), with the upper part of the figures of Natikamani and his queen, and the cartouches of the three royalties.[2]

The king wears the royal double crown or pschent, and the queen the disk and horns of Isis. The king's hands were raised adoring a deity or deities, but are destroyed, the queen holds in the advanced (right) hand an object like a mirror, the fingers of the left hand being perhaps encircled by a large ring: compare the corresponding scenes at Naga, L. *D.* v. 57–67.

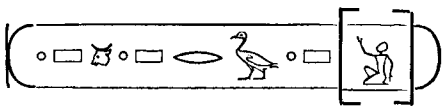
The cartouches are in Meroitic hieroglyphs, and are very badly engraved. The Egyptian titles which probably were above each are all lost. The king's is



Natikamani and has perhaps been preceded by other

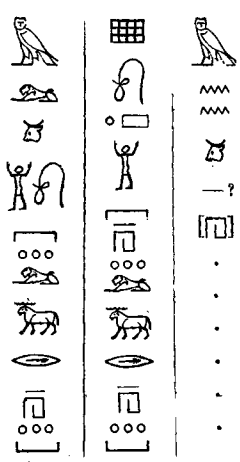
[1] See Pl. XIX (iii).

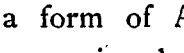
[2] See Pls. XII (i–iv) and LXIX.

writing erased or altered. The queen's cartouche is Amanitêre, the prince's  Ar(i)k-kharêr, with some cursive characters in a vertical column at the side. These are the three who appear in the temple of the lion-god at Naga (*Inscr.* Nos. 16, 19), while in the Sun-temple (*Inscr.* No. 2, &c.), which seems to be older, the prince is different, although king and queen bear the same name, see above, p. 61. There are signs elsewhere that the queens named Amanitêre called themselves also Candace.

16. Block from the central building inscribed with the titles of a god.[1]

The inscription is of the type of the divine legends seen in the temple of the lion-god at Naga (*Inscr.* 6–10), and therefore belongs to the same series as 15. The first column evidently began with the name of some god, the second and third contain the beginning of two short phrases of which the second is confined to the legends of the male deities at Naga while the other occurs with gods and goddesses alike. On the analogy of these the inscription can be restored as here shown :—



The god was perhaps a form of Ammon.  is a known group and fits the remains, but its meaning is not known.

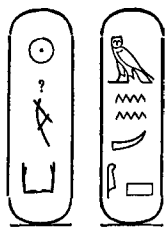
17. A remarkable plaque[2] of opaque variegated glass, unfortunately much shattered, on a gold backing, was found in the chamber behind the altar (Spot 262). It bears in relief a figure of the god Ammon standing in his usual human-headed form, crowned with tall plumes and disk on a close-fitting cap. His right arm is advanced and probably held ; before him on the ground stands a -shaped altar and in front of his face are the remains of an inscription which may probably be restored as: the name of this form of Ammon in the temple of Ammon at Naga (*Inscr.* 23, &c.). These two words are there always followed by two others, but it is difficult to find space for the latter if the god held .

The first word is Amani, the name of Ammon; the second apparently means 'in Nête', but it is not found in any other context. As this is essentially the Theban Ammon, it seems likely that Thebes, in Egyptian Ne(t), is meant by 'Nête' : or it may be a way of writing the name of Napata.

[1] See Pls. XII (v) and LXIX.

[2] See Pls. X (iii) and LXIX.

18. On a block built into the west wall of the temple of the rams Professor Garstang pointed out to me two cartouches (here transposed to suit the printing type). In noting them I failed to read the which is injured, but the indications suit it.



These are the Meroitic name and Egyptian prenomen of the Queen Amanitêre who is found with Natikamani and the Prince Arikakhtini as builder of the temple of Ammon at Naga. The prenomen of the queen at Amara is unfortunately not preserved, and, the prince there being different, it is perhaps questionable whether she can be identified with this Naga queen.

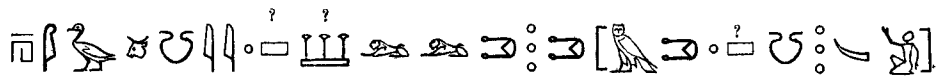
Miscellaneous from the City (19–22).

19. Block re-used in a building of later date, just north of the Ammon temple inside the city (Spot 281).[1]

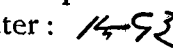
This preserves a fragment of an inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphic with the Egyptian cartouche of King Natikamani; it may be the same Natikamani, using Egyptian writing, who built the temple of Wad Benaga and temple C at Barkal (L. *D.* v. 15, i), and the husband of Amanitêre named in No. 18.

20. An isolated block from the same ruins shows the middle part of a royal figure facing to the right in the attitude of adoration.[2] The figure is clothed in magnificent robes, embroidered with representations of divinities: on a band from the shoulder are written the names of Natikamani and Amanitêre in Meroitic hieroglyphs without cartouches. This belongs to the later Natikamani of No. 15, who is probably distinct from that of Wad Benaga unless his reign was very long.

21. Column of hieroglyphs near the edge of a block with remains of sculpture.[3] The point where it must have terminated is indicated by the base line of the sculpture at the side. The fragment is evidently related to the inscriptions of the Nile figures, each pouring water from two jars, on the temple of Ammon at Naga; it in fact shows the falling stream of water. From the direction of the hieroglyphs it seems that the present example belongs to the left or north (?) side, and the complete inscription may be restored from Naga thus:—



At Naga the texts give .

The phrase resembles the important terminal formula A of the funerary texts, referring to the supply of water:  occurs in *Kar.* 53 as a variant of the last word in the formula A, occurs in C and D, and in formula F;

[1] See Pls. XII (vii) and LXIX.

[2] See Pls. XII (viii) and LXIX.

[3] See Pls. XII (vi) and LXIX. Found just outside the city gateway (28 ▸) amid débris.

cf. in the formula A in 49 below. No other reading than seems likely, though would be possible.

22. On a fragment of coarse hand-made pottery, thick blackish ware. The incised lines look like characters of some kind, possibly of an early type followed by the numeral strokes ||; size 5 cm. × 4 cm. This was found in the Kenîsa (600) at a good depth, equivalent to that of the granite stela 12, though not in the same chamber.

From the Cemeteries.

A large number of altars or tables of offerings, and two inscribed slabs or stelae, were found in the cemeteries. By far the greater number are from the middle cemetery where a single grave yielded no less than twelve inscriptions. In this cemetery many are of very early style, but the later style also is found. One altar is inscribed in Egyptian, and another in Greek characters and presumably in the Greek language, but unfortunately it is in very bad condition.

The earliest altars (a new class) are distinguishable from the later ones by peculiar writing, spelling, and formulae (see below), as well as by the designs upon them. The streaming of the liquid from the libation to the spout, seen in 25, 29, 30, 34–6, &c., is a special mark of early date; Isis and Anubis are generally figured pouring the libation; the altar is in one instance of classical type (35) but in two cases is modified to a lotus flower (28, 34).

The forms of the Meroitic funerary inscriptions in Lower Nubia, which are precisely like the later examples from Meroë, are dealt with at length in the Philadelphia publication of the Meroitic inscriptions from Shablul and Karanog. First Isis (Wêsh) and Osiris (Ashêri) are invoked, then the deceased is named and described with his parentage, and the 'terminal formulae' are probably in the nature of prayers for his welfare. The funerary inscriptions from the necropolis of Meroë are very brief, but so are even the royal altars which Lepsius obtained from the pyramids.

North Group (Nos. 23, 24).

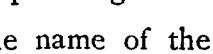
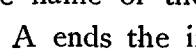
23. Grave 501. Half of rectangular altar with spout, obscure design, inscribed round the edge (style *f*). About one-third of the inscription remains, including beginning and end. The name is Zêke, and apparently that of the mother was . . . Mete . . . After the long gap the end of some terminal formula is seen, perhaps B, followed by C complete. [Pls. LV (ii) and LXX.]

24. Grave 505. Rectangular altar with spout; design of altar, cartouche-shaped bowl, libation vases, and bouquets. Inscription round edge and in spout (style *e*). The name of the deceased is . . têtê, his mother Kazimakeli, his father Shakañye. The terminal formulae are A, B, C. [Pls. LV (iv) and LXX.]

Middle Group (Nos. 25–49).

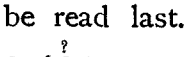
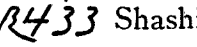
Grave 302 yielded two altars, one very archaic, the other late.

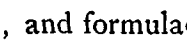
25. Rectangular altar with spout, two figures of Anubis pouring libations upon offerings from which water appears to stream through the spout. Inscription round edge (style *d*). [Pls. LV (i) and LXX.]

A peculiar sign is found on these archaic altars for the š in the name of Isis, and is perhaps derived from the Egyptian . The name of Osiris is here misspelt with for . The parentage—mother  Arêr . , father  Karpês—precedes the name of the deceased, which may be Ashê. A variety of the formula A ends the inscription.

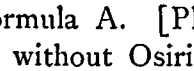
26 (style *e*). The names of the deceased and the mother are lost with the invocation: the father's name is Zêrekiz. Formulae A, B. [Pl. LXX. 26.]

Tomb 307 yielded twelve inscribed altars. All are early except Nos. 37, 38. Six have the representation of Isis and Anubis, and the other early ones the streaming water. [See also No. 49.]

27 (style *d*). The name of the deceased, Kamêshizati, is written in the spout and is probably to be read last. The mother's name is  Nakañ, the father's perhaps  Shashinêli. Formulae A, B., [Pls. LV (iii) and LXX.]

28 (style *d*). The writing is extraordinarily bad: some signs are reversed and others quite unrecognizable. After the invocation is the parentage, mother  Ayzêke, father . . ., and formulae A, B. The name of the deceased probably ended all, but is illegible. [Pls. LVI (i) and LXXI.]

29 (style *d*). Spout broken off. The usual order is here preserved, but the names are almost destroyed. Formula A. [Pls. LVI (ii) and LXXI.]

30 (style *d*). Isis invoked without Osiris, perhaps for a woman  Yalkhañ, whose description precedes her name. Traces of formulae, not in the hand copy, from ll. 6–7. [Pls. LVI (iii) and LXXI.]

31 (style *d–e*) seems to have been fully inscribed round the edge. Between the figures are remains of four lines ending with formula C. [Pls. LVI (iv) and LXXI.]

32 has been inscribed at least along the edge opposite the spout (cf. 34, 35), but is not now legible. [Pl. LVI (v).]

33. Corner fragment, apparently with part of the figure of Isis. I have not been able to copy the scrap of inscription. [Pl. LVI (vi).]

34 (style *c*). Strangely ill-engraved, but with some interesting forms. The names of Isis and Osiris as well as the word for maternal relationship and formula A are recognizable. [Pls. LVI (vii) and LXXI.]

35 (style *c*) has been inscribed on the side opposite the spout and thence reaching to the spout, but only the first line remains. It is difficult to fix the nature of the word following the name of Osiris. [Pls. LVI (viii) and LXXI.]

36. Inscribed on two sides only, and the two texts seem disconnected (1 style *d*, 2 style *c*). Perhaps they are simply proper names. At the end of the second is probably the name of Isis 𐦲𐦳𐦴. [Pls. LVI (ix) and LXXI.]

37. Later (style *e*). Inscribed round the edge and in the field. The deceased is probably named 𐦳𐦹𐦴𐦲𐦲 Nanibeshash. Formula C is followed by a rare development of the invocation. [Pls. LVII (iv) and LXXII.]

38. Later still (style *f*). The centre raised instead of sunk below the inscribed edges. The spout has been broken off, but the inscription began at an unusual place at the side. The name appears to be 𐦵𐦲𐦲𐦰 . . . 𐦹𐦴 Ye . . . pazititê, the mother 𐦶𐦴𐦹𐦳 Kebêw. After this may have been formulae, the end of B being visible. [Pls. LVII (i) and LXXII.]

39. Grave 310. This altar which is of the later type is very remarkable for the Greek lettering. Unfortunately the original is as obscure as the photograph and I have not been able to fix more than a few detached characters. It is to be hoped that other examples may be found in the coming season. [Pl. LVII (ii).]

40. Grave 311 (style *e*). It seems as if the side away from the spout had never been inscribed, but this is not certain. The name is much injured. The terminal formulae A, B are followed as sometimes elsewhere by the names of Isis and Osiris. [Pls. LVII (iii) and LXXII.]

41. Grave 325 (style *c*). Curiously obscure. The design is apparently of water flowing from offerings between two amphorae, as on 33–35. The inscription too is very unintelligible. The first group may represent the name of Isis, though it is difficult to see how, whichever way the inscription is turned, and the second group, the name of Osiris as usual. Next seems to be the father's name and a descriptive epithet, and then perhaps some 'terminal formula' and the name of the deceased: but the end of the inscription round the edge is destroyed, and l. 5 might be read the other way up, giving 𐦲𐦹𐦹𐦳 : 𐦹𐦰 . . . or some such reading. In the field are two lines engraved in quite a different style: the first looks like Egyptian-demotic, possibly reading *rm Swn* 'man of Aswan', while the other may be Meroitic 𐦵𐦹𐦰 | 𐦷𐦹𐦳 or with 𐦴 for 𐦷. [Pls. LVII (v) and LXXII.]

42. Grave 326 (style *e*). Spout broken off. The inscription begins along the bottom edge, crossing the broken spout, and ends in three lines across the field in the spaces left about the heads of Isis and Anubis. It is in the usual order, but the names are much destroyed. The terminal formulae seem to be a fusion of A and B, followed by C. [Pls. LVII (vi) and LXXII.]

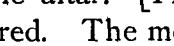
43. Grave 327 (style *d*). Spout broken off. A few characters remain of the inscription which ran round the edge. In the field are the groups shown in the hand-copy. [Pls. LVII (vii) and LXXII.]

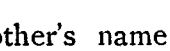
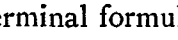
44. Grave 340 (style *e*). Upper part of slab or stela, engraved with six horizontal lines. To all appearance the first line and the full width of the inscription are preserved. The first line consists of the names of Isis and Osiris as in

the ordinary funerary inscriptions, but the rest is quite different and can only be compared with the similar slab below No. 51, and a paragraph added to a funerary stela with the ordinary type of inscription from Karanog (*Kar.* 41, ll. 13, 14). It is remarkable that the only two stelae from the Meroë cemeteries bear inscriptions of this character, while the Karanog stelae inscriptions are like those on the altars. I do not find any indication of the name of the deceased on either of the stelae, see No. 51. [Pls. LVIII (i) and LXXIII.]

Grave 362 yielded four inscribed tables, all more or less early.

45 (style *d*). ll. 9–10 are written behind Isis and Anubis respectively. The form is by no means clear: apparently the invocation is followed by the father's name (or the full parentage) and then by that of the deceased with two or three descriptive phrases; in the field is the end of a 'terminal formula' and the name perhaps of a second deceased. It frequently happens that two or more persons are commemorated on a single altar. [Pls. LVIII (ii) and LXXIII.]

46 (style *e*). Much injured. The mother's name is  Taqanili. The terminal formulae are A, B, C, and the invocation is repeated at the end. [Pls. LVIII (iii) and LXXIII.]

47 (style *f*). The mother's name is  Kelekele, the father's  Tizabli. The terminal formula A begins in l. 5, and another, probably C, ends in l. 9 in the spout. l. 8, also in the spout, can hardly be intended to precede l. 9 immediately, and may not belong to the terminal formulae at all. Probably these additional lines in and about the spout are carelessly arranged. [Pls. LIX (i) and LXXIV.]

48. Apparently of the earlier style, but the writing has gone. [Pl. LIX (iv).]

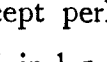
49 (style *d*). The number of the grave is erased, but from the Excavator's note-book is No. 307 (see 27–38), presumably from the middle cemetery. Isis and Anubis, with blank labels before them, as if for hieroglyphic legends, pouring libations: the sculpture and inscriptions faint. After the invocation to [Isis and?] Osiris, the name and parentage are given and a 'terminal formula' resembling A. [Pls. LIX (ii) and LXXIV.]

North Group, western portion (Nos. 50, 51).

These tombs furnished only two inscribed monuments, a table of offerings with Egyptian inscription, and a slab or stela with interesting formula.

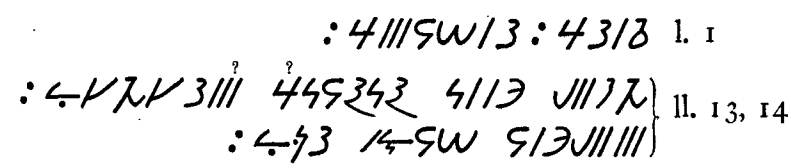
50. Grave 412. Altar elaborately sculptured with offerings, the spout shaped like the loaf of the : inscription round the edge in Egyptian hieroglyphic. The inscription consists of the usual Egyptian funerary formula naming Osiris Khentamenthes, Lord of Abydos, repeated on each side. It is very unfortunate that the side opposite the spout has been injured, for the name of the deceased is broken away and the termination of the inscriptions is uncertain. It may be that this altar was for an Egyptian and that the name was broken out to serve for a Meroite.

The end of the inscription may mean 'may he (i. e. Osiris) grant that the Osirian . . . (i. e. the deceased) go forth justified'. But anyhow this does not throw any light on the Meroitic formulae. [Pls. LIX (iii) and LXXIV.]

51. Grave 415. Slab with six lines of Meroite demotic (style *g*), apparently complete except perhaps at the top. The text is of the type of No. 44 above. For  in l. 5, seems a possible reading. [Pls. LIX (v) and LXXIV.

The three texts *Kar.* 41, No. 44, and this differ largely but have many points of contact.

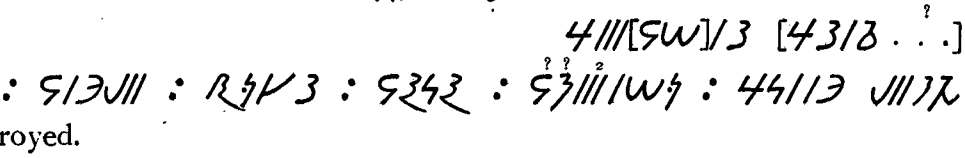
Kar. 41


l. 1

ll. 13, 14

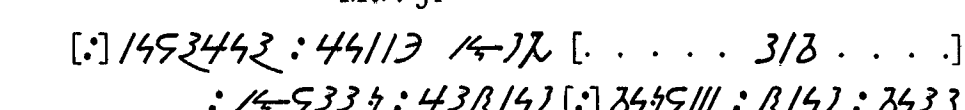
The names of Isis and Osiris followed by two descriptive phrases.

Mer. 44, ll. 1–5


&c. most destroyed.

The names of Isis and Osiris followed by a long descriptive phrase.

Mer. 51



The name of Isis followed by a descriptive phrase and a prayer or benediction, and the name of Osiris with epithets (?).

Many parallels can be seen and interesting variations of words in changing contexts: but it is useless to suggest a translation when nearly all is unknown. It seems as if the name of the deceased was not given in any of the three.

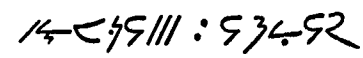
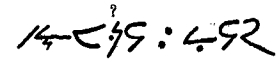
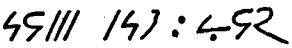
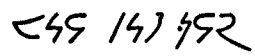
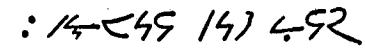
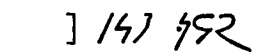
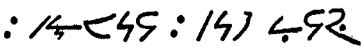
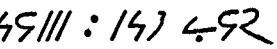
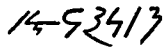
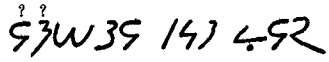
It is a curious and significant fact that the name Meroë, which is not infrequent in Egyptian-demotic inscriptions of Meroites at Philae, is not to be found in any Meroitic text yet discovered, nor in the Axumite record of Aeizanes. To the natives

it was perhaps not a place-name marking a single definite site, but rather belonged to the whole Meroite region and especially to its capitals Napata and 'Meroë'.

The Terminal Formulae or Benedictions in the Funerary Texts.

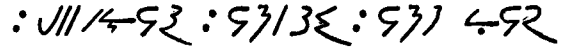
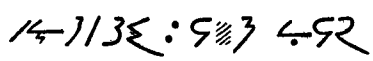
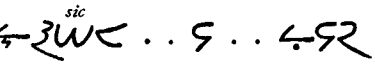
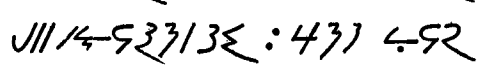
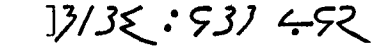
The abundant examples from Shablul and Karanog are fully dealt with in the Philadelphia memoir.

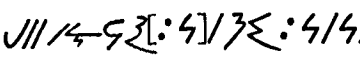
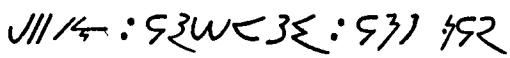
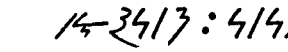
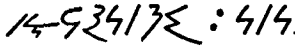
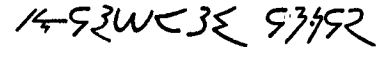
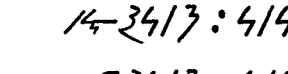
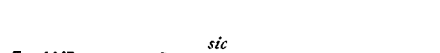
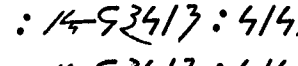
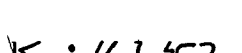
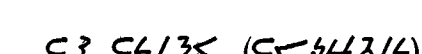
The earlier series of altars (style *c–d*), so far as I can read them, give

	C	B	A
34 (*c*)			
41 (*c*)			
25 (*d*)			
27 (*d*)			
28 (*d*)			
29 (*d*)			
45 (*d*)			
49 (*d*)			

The readings are not very certain, but the differences from the later style are very important; the isolated word as if from C in 45, if really isolated, is curious.

The later series *e–f* are generally normal.

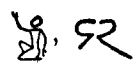
	A
24 (*e*)	
31 (*e*)	
37 (*e*)	
40 (*e*)	
42 (*e*) (A+B)	
46 (*e*)	
23 (*f*)	
26 (*f*)	
38 (*f*)	
47 (*f*)	

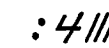
	C	B
24 (*e*)		
31 (*e*)		
37 (*e*)		
40 (*e*)		
42 (*e*)		
46 (*e*)		
23 (*f*)		
26 (*f*)		
38 (*f*)		
47 (*f*)		

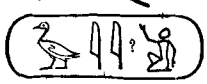
42, in fusing A and B, may be faulty.

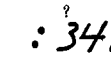
INDEX OF MEROITIC WORDS AND GROUPS

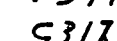
Abbreviations: n. = personal name; n.A = name of the deceased, n.B of mother, n.C of father; pl.n. = place-name; form. A, B, C = funerary formulae or benedictions; init. = initial word; fin. = final word.

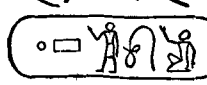


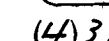
:  fin. 7/18.

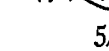
 1/7.

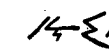
:  7/18.

 n.B 28.

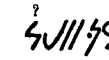
 1/6.

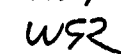
 lion-god, init. 5/*b*, fin. 5/*b*, *c*. v. .

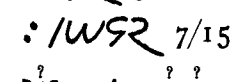
 Amenapate, i.e. Ammon of Napata (Dr. Roeder).

 n. (?) 35.

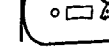
god Horus 7/5, 8, 11.

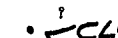
:  7/15.

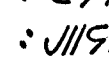
 n.B 25.

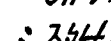
 prince 15.

: 10/3.

:  init. (?) 14.

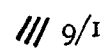
:  7/16, 17–18.

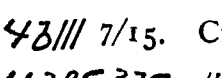
:  6/3.

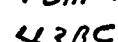
:  12/*c*.

. . . 8/9.

 6/6.

 god Osiris 37ad fin., 51/3–4, 35, 28, 27, 29, 34, 37; *sic* 25. v. also .

 prince 2.

 init form. B 24, 26–28, 40, 46.

: : pl. n. Adai (Sedênga) 7/7, 8–9 : 7/6–7, 8.

: 10/11.

: init. form. B 40.

: 'water', init. form. A 24–49 *passim*.

: 6/5–6.

 init. form. A 34, 40 (?).

 9/11.

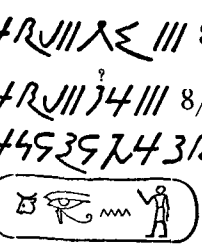
 7/15. Cf. .

 5/*b*.

 7/5. v. .

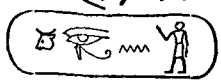
 8/4, 5.

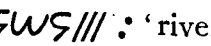
 n.B (?) 45.

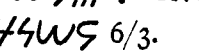
 8/7–9.

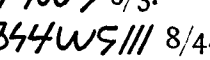
 8/6.

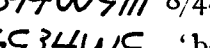
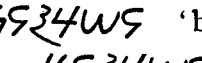
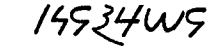
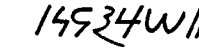
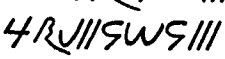
 13/2, 3.

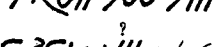
 1/8.

 : 'river' (?) 9/5.

 6/3.

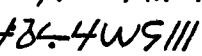
 8/4.

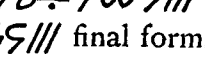
 'begotten' 28 cf. 27,  42,  25,  29,  45.

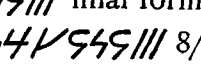
 9/6.

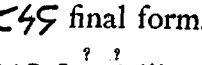
7/16.

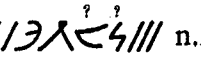
7/15.

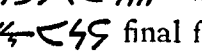
 7/17.

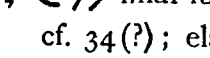
 final form. A 25.

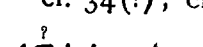
 8/9, 8/7.

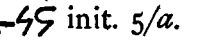
 final form. B 27.

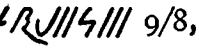
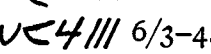
 n.A 30.

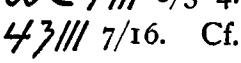
 final form. A 27, 28, (29), 41, cf. 34 (?); elsewhere 5/*b*.

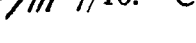
 init. 5/*a*.

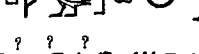
 9/8, 9, 9.

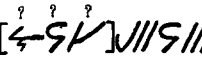
 6/3–4.

 7/16. Cf.  7/15.

 21.

 8/2–3. Cf. *Inscr.* 94/18.

7/2, 9/3,  7/4, 7, 10.

 10/4.

 13/1.

 form. A 49.

 8/11.

init. 12/*a*, *b*.

9/4–5.

38.

10/5.

 51.

 10/10.

 7/1, 9, 12, 13–14. v. .

 final form. A 34. Cf. .

 12/*a*. Cf. 12/*b*.

 8/3.

 8/6.

 9/12.

 6/4.

 5/*a*.

 'born' 27, 28, 34, 29.

 9/12.

 5/*c*.

 n.A (?) 38.

,

 6/1.

 13.

 7/15.

 7/14.

 9/9.

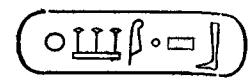
 14/5.

goddess Isis 12/c; 7/3, 6, 9, 37 ad fin.; (*sic*) 42; init. 25, 28; init. 34; init. 23–51.
12/b.
45.

1/5.

9/3.
5/a.
9/4.
12/a. Cf. .

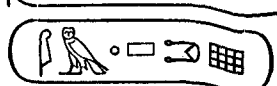
,

9/7.
9/9.
7/2 (altered). Cf. .
8/3.

1/2.
10/6.
n. (?) 7/2.

,

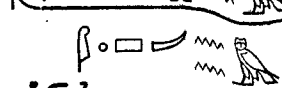
16, 5/b, 51.
8/2, 10/2. Cf. .
7/4, 7, 9, 10, 12.
pl.n. 'Philae' 7/4, 5, 7/3.
alone (?) 47, form. C 37, 24.
form. B 38, 40, 24,
form. A (*sic*) 42. v. .
form. A. 26, 46, 24, 40.

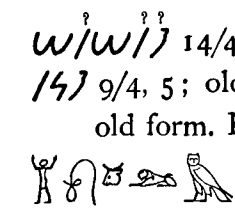
title of prince 2.

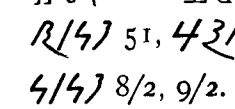
title of prince 2.

1/1.
n.B 34.
init. 7/1, [8/1], 9/1, 10/1.
12/c.

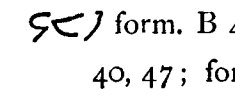
,

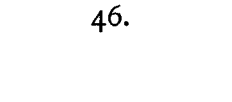
14.
14.
16.

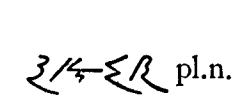
queen 15, 18,

20.
40.

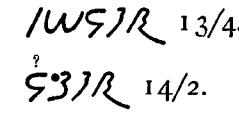
 14/4.

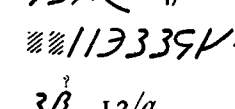
 9/4, 5; old form. A 25, 27–29, 49; old form. B 27, 28, (later) 26.

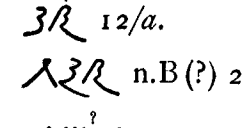
 16.

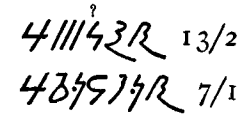
 51, 51.

 8/2, 9/2.

 form. B 46; form. A 24, 26, 40, 47; form. B 24; form. A 46.

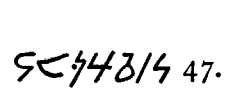
 n. (?) 14.

 10/2–3.

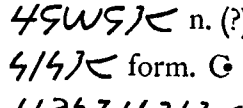
 final 12/*a*.

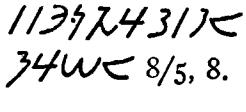
 30.

 7/13.

 13/3. Cf. *Inscr.*

. . . n.B (?) 23.

 n.A 29.

 n. (?) 14.

 pl.n. (?) Napata (?) 7/13.

 13/4.

 14/2.

 n.A 37.

 12/*a*.

 n.B (?) 27.

 13/2.

 7/16.

 7/18.

 king 15,

 20,

 19.

 8/5.

 8/6.

 form. B 46. Cf. above, , and in *Inscr.*

 44. v. *Inscr.*

 47.

 final 12/*c*.

 12/*b*.

 n. (?) 36.

 form. G 23, 24, 31, 37, 42, 46.

 n.A. 27.

 8/5, 8.

 6/7.

 38.

 34.

𓏏, 𓏏

𓄿𓏏𓅱𓏏 8/3.
𓄿𓊪𓂋𓏏 5/*b*.

𓄿𓂋𓅱𓏏𓏏 form. C 23, 44, alone (?) 45,
𓄿𓅱𓏏𓏏 form. C 31, 42.
𓏏𓏏 5/*a*.

𓉐, 𓏺𓏺𓏺

𓅱𓂋𓊪𓏺𓏺𓏺 45.
𓊪𓂋𓊪𓏺𓏺𓏺 init. 6.

𓂋𓅱𓏺𓏺𓏺 44.
. . 𓄿𓏺𓏺𓏺 43.
𓏏𓏏𓏺𓏺𓏺 30.

𓏺𓏺𓏺, 𓏏

𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏏 36.
𓄿𓅱𓏺𓅱𓏺𓏏 pl. n. 7/1.
𓂋𓅱𓏺𓅱𓏺𓏏 9/11.
𓂋𓂋𓅱𓏏 44.
𓏺𓏺𓏺 21.
𓏺𓏺𓏏 king (?) 5/*b*.
𓅱𓏺𓏺𓏏 god Osiris 41 ad fin., 𓅱𓏺𓏺𓏺𓅱𓏺𓏏 24, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45, 49. v. also 𓅱𓏺𓏺𓅱𓏺𓏏.
𓅱𓅱𓏺𓏺𓏏 43.

𓅱𓏺𓏺𓏏 45.
𓅱𓅱𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏏 n.C 27.
𓄿𓅱𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏏 6/1–2.
𓊪𓂋𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏏 6/3.
𓅱𓅱𓏺𓏺𓏏 n.C 24.
𓊪𓏺𓏺𓏏 51.
. . 𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏏 n.B 29.
𓄿𓅱𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏏 9/1.
𓄿𓏏 7/3, 30.

𓅓, 𓏏

𓊪𓂋𓅱𓏏 n.B 38.
𓅱𓅱𓄿𓅱𓏺𓏏 pl.n. (?) 10/1.
𓏏𓏺𓏏 10/4.
1/4.
𓂋𓏺𓅱𓏏 n.C. 25.
𓅱𓏏𓏏 44, 𓅱𓅱𓏏𓏏 51, 𓅱𓅱𓏏𓏏 51.

𓏏𓅱𓅱𓏏 n.B 47.
𓅱𓅱[𓅱]𓏏 10/4.
𓄿𓅱𓏏 10/5, 6, 11.
𓅱𓅱𓄿𓅱𓏏 . . . 14/4.
. . . 𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏏 n.B 49.
𓅱𓅱𓏏𓏏𓏺𓏺𓏏 n.B 24.
𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏏 12/*c*.

𐦀, 𐦁

𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦁 n.A (?) 45.

𐦇𐦁𐦈𐦁 . n.A 49.

𐦉𐦊𐦁𐦁 title 'King', 7/2, 8/2, 9/2, 10/2, 𐦋𐦊𐦁𐦁 12/*c*, 𐦌𐦉𐦊𐦁𐦁 5/*b*, 𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕 2.

𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦁 9/10.

𐦚𐦚𐦁𐦁 44, 51.

𐦛𐦉𐦚𐦁𐦁 8/4.

𐦜𐦚𐦁𐦝 10/2

𐦘𐦙𐦉𐦁 51, 𐦖𐦘𐦙𐦉𐦁 6/1, 2.

𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦁 37 (twice).

𐦜𐦖𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦉𐦁 6/4.

𐦦, 𐦧

𐦨𐦩𐦪 . . 𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦧 36.

𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦬𐦧 7/13, 𐦖𐦗𐦴𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦬𐦧 5/*b*.

𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦧 44, 𐦉𐦹𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦧 51.

𐦺𐦁𐦻𐦼𐦷𐦸𐦧 9/9.

𐦽𐦾 21.

𐦿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦾 1/3.

𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦧 10/10.

𐦜𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦧 51.

𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦧 6/2.

𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦧 n.C 47.

𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦧 'born' 25, 𐦘𐦙𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦧 𐦚𐦛𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦧 38.

𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦧 n.A 42.

𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤 . . 𐦧 . . . 𐦧 n.A (?) 40.

𐦥, 𐦜

𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦜 pl.n. Biga, Abaton near Philae (?), 8/10, 11, 𐦜𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦜 8/10, 11.

𐦫𐦬 . . 𐦭𐦮𐦜 40.

𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦜 10/4.

𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦜 9/11, 𐦴𐦶𐦹𐦜 6/4.

𐦴𐦶𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦜 (𐦴𐦶𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦾𐦜) 6/5.

𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦜 24, 26.

𐦇𐦁𐦈𐦁𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦜 12/*c*.

𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦜 n.B 46.

𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚 (:) 𐦛𐦜𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦜 king 8/1–2, 9/1–2, 10/1–2.

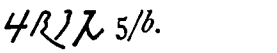
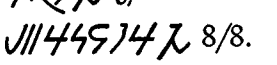
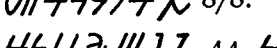
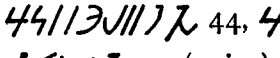
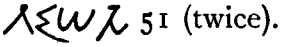
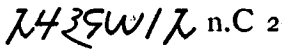
𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦜 'born' 46, 𐦖𐦘𐦙𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦜 26, 𐦖𐦘𐦙𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦜 𐦚𐦛𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦜 24, 47.

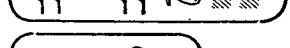
𐦢, 𐦣

𐦤𐦥𐦣 8/8. v. 𐦤𐦥 𐦣𐦧.

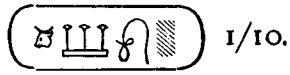
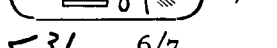
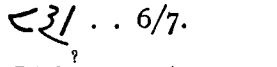
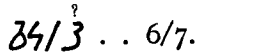
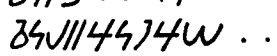
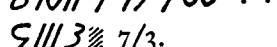
𐦴𐦶𐦹𐦣 6/6.

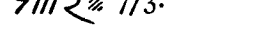
,

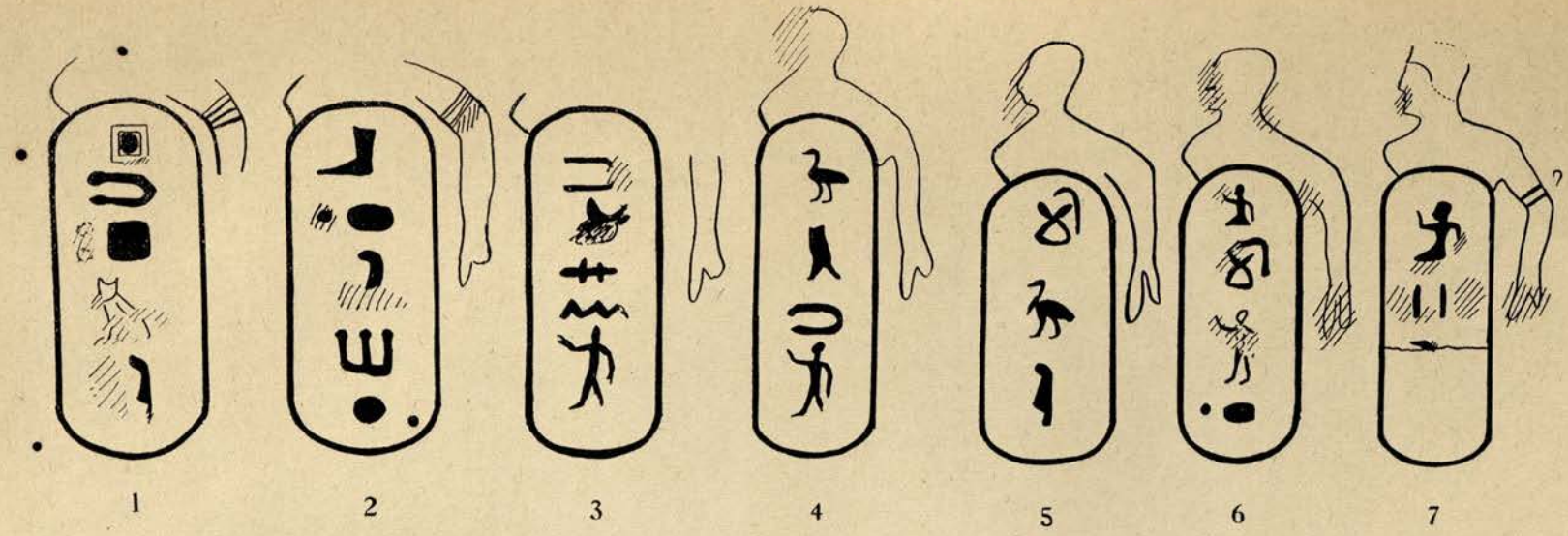
 5/*b*.
 8/8.
 44,  51.
 51 (twice).
 n.C 26.

 title 14/3.
 n.A 23 (woman. v. *Kar.*).
 5/*a*, 5/*b*.
 n.A (?) 45.

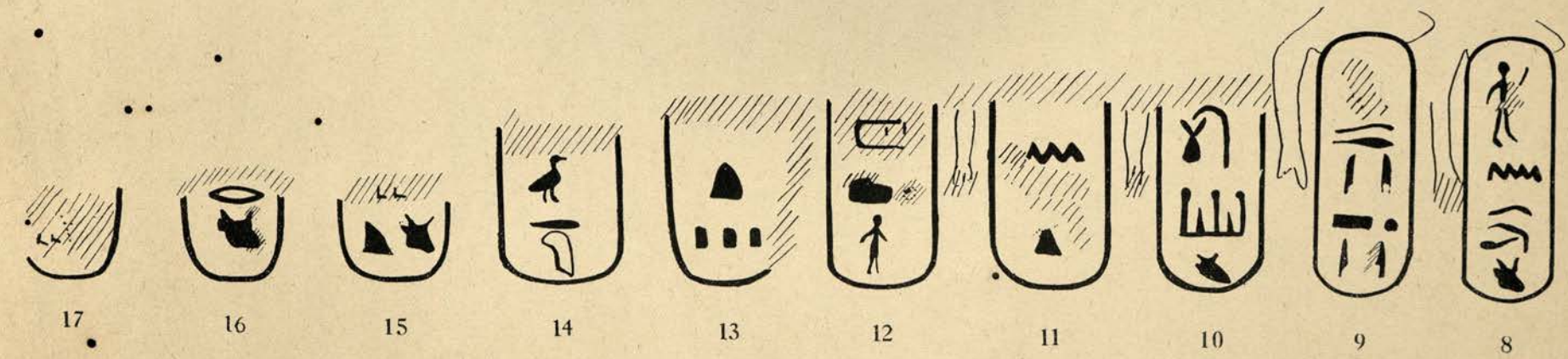
Uncertain

 1/9.
 1/10.
 . . 6/7.
 . . 6/7.
 . . . 6/8.
 7/3.

 pl.n. (?) 8/1.
 . . 8/4, 6.
 . . 9/6.
 10/11.
 n.A 24.
 n.A 46.



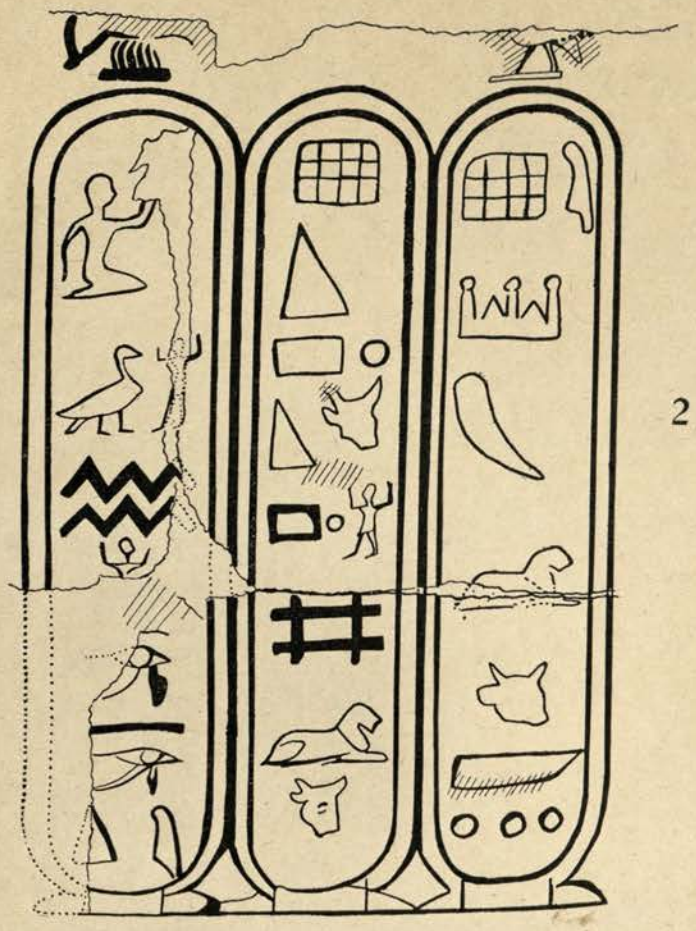
1a



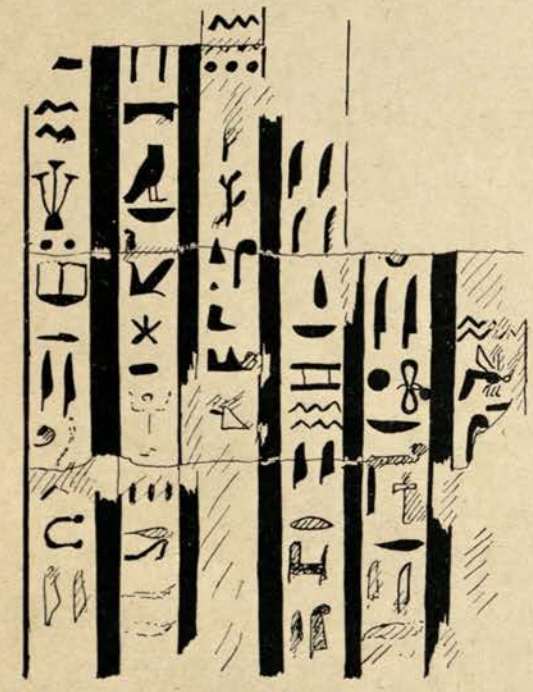
1b

Cartouches on the eastern façade (see Pl. XXXIV).

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUN-TEMPLE



2



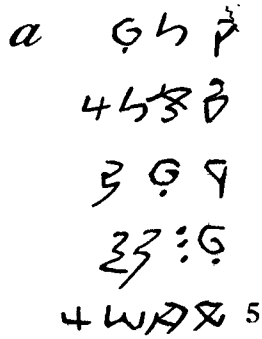
4-i

4-ii

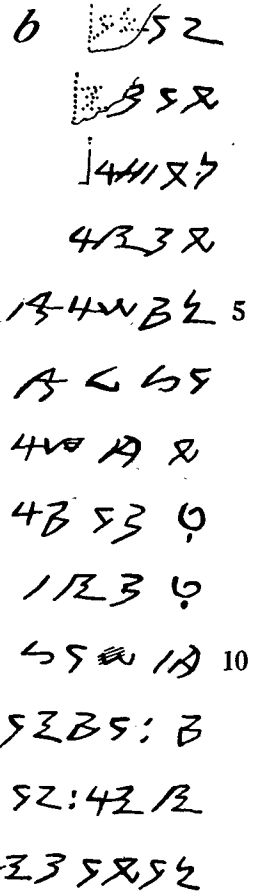
2. Cartouches of a prince. 4 (i, ii). Inscriptions on the doorway of the sanctuary. (See Pl. XXXV.)

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LION-TEMPLE (No. 6)

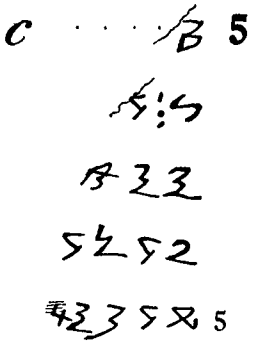
a



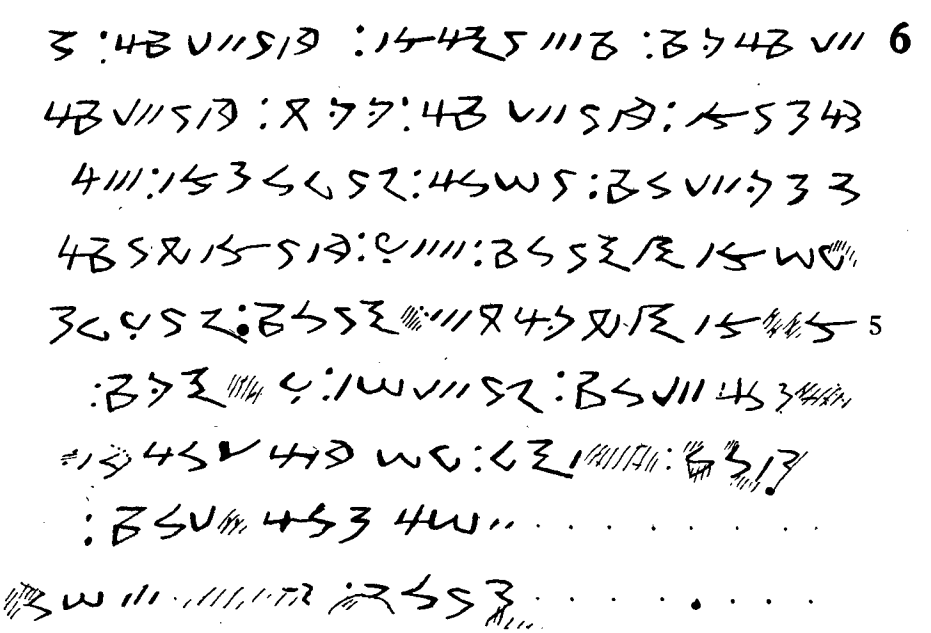
b



c



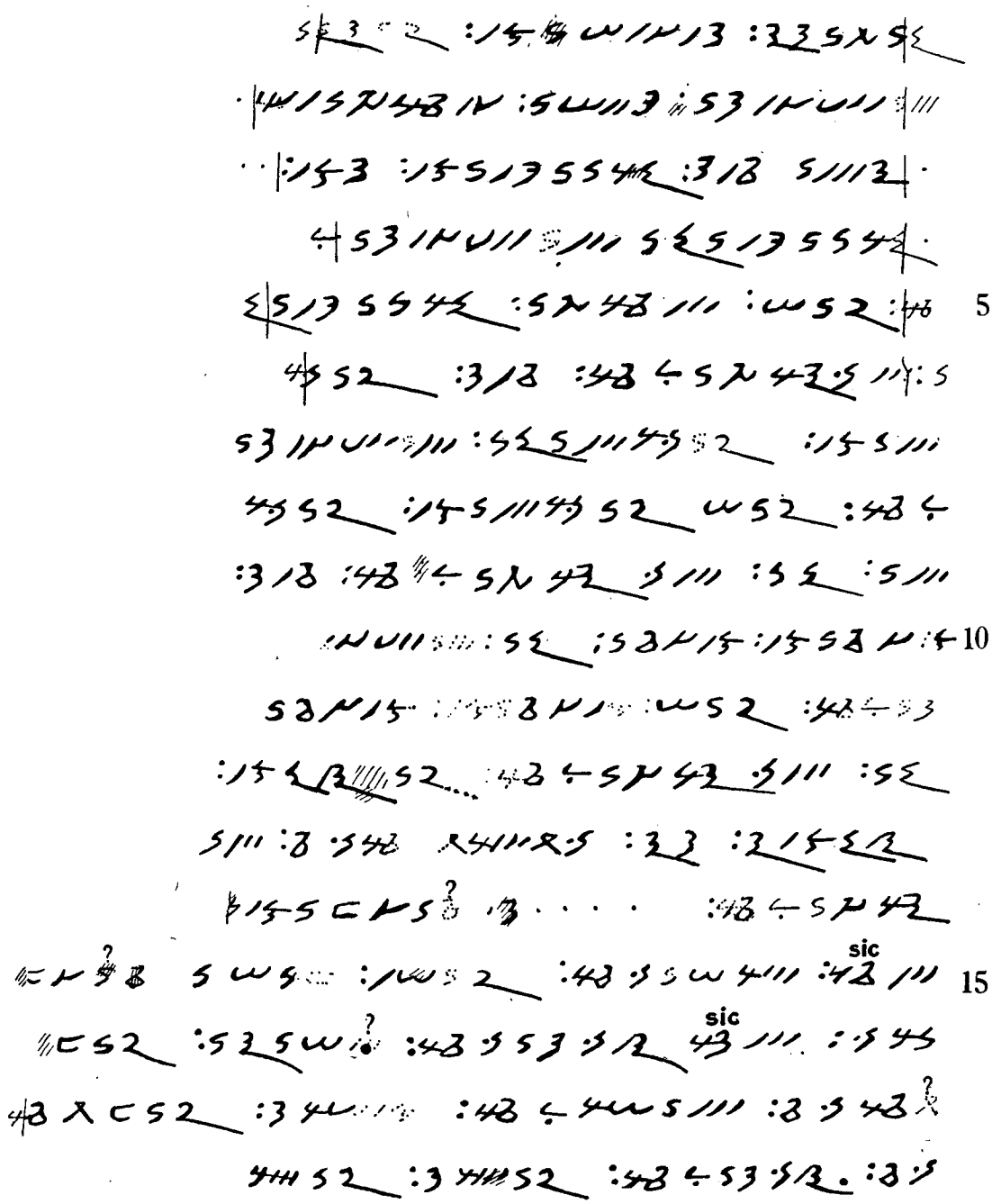
6



5. Panels on the plaque of the lion-god (see Frontispiece).
6. Inscription upon a stela (see Pl. XXIII).

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LION-TEMPLE

7

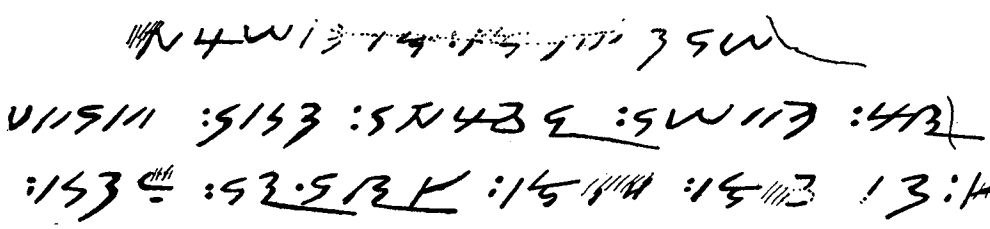


Inscription upon a stela (see Plate XXIV).

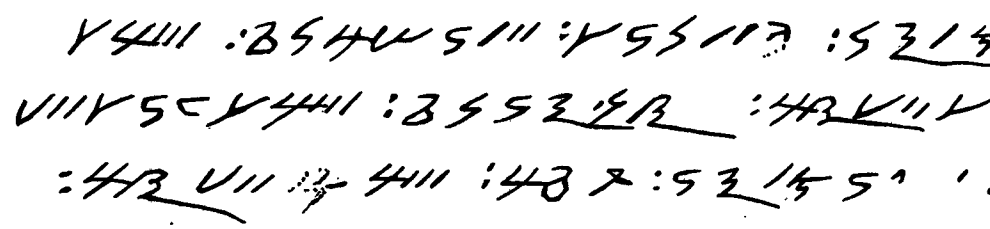
INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LION-TEMPLE

8

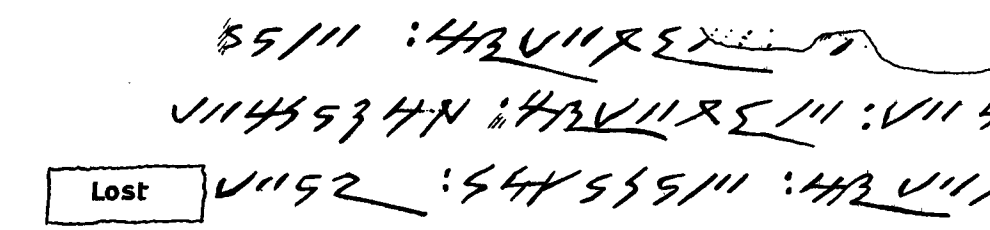
a



b

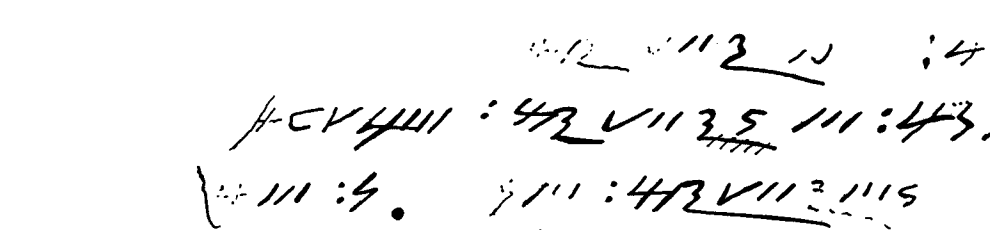


c



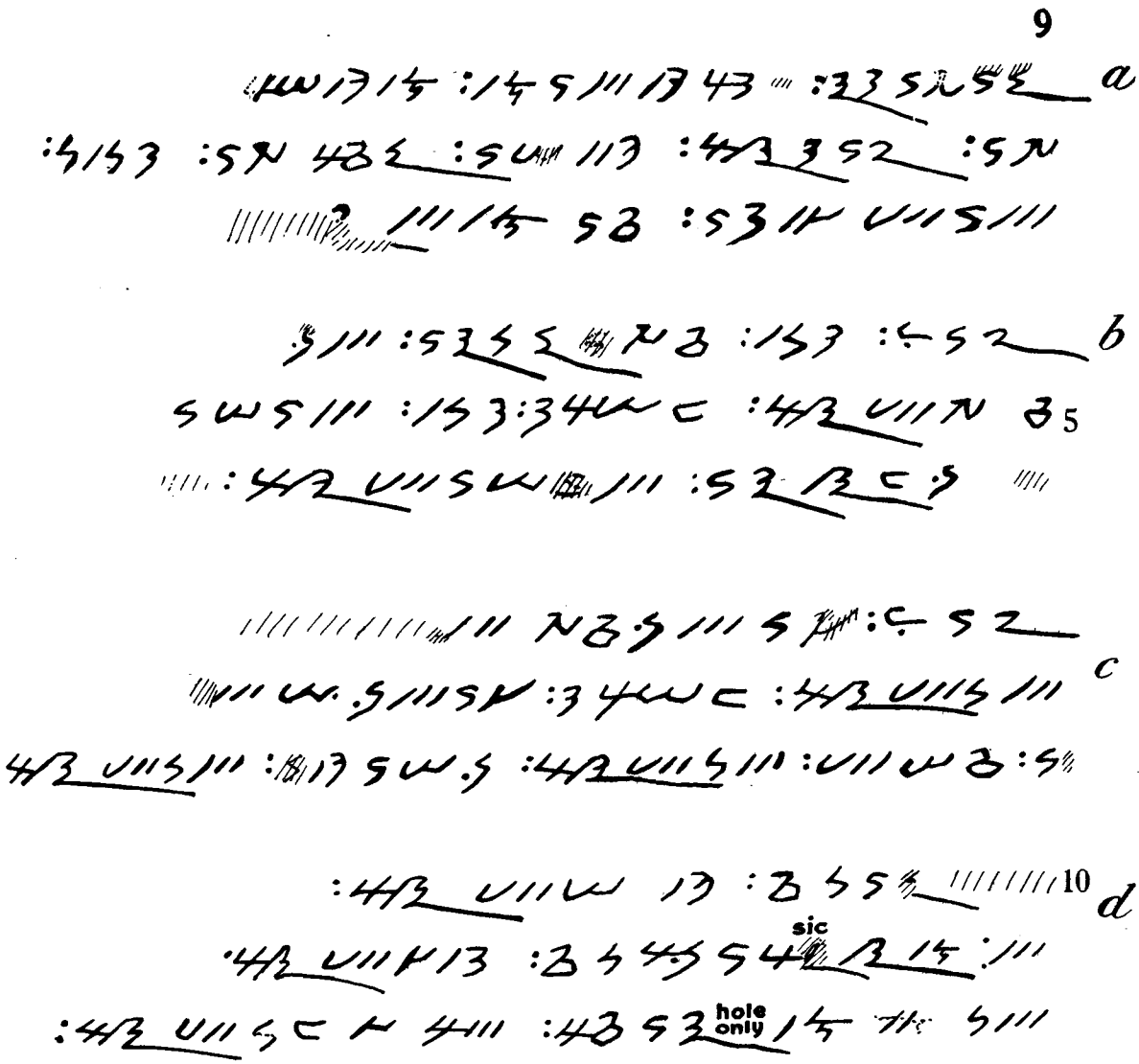
Lost

d



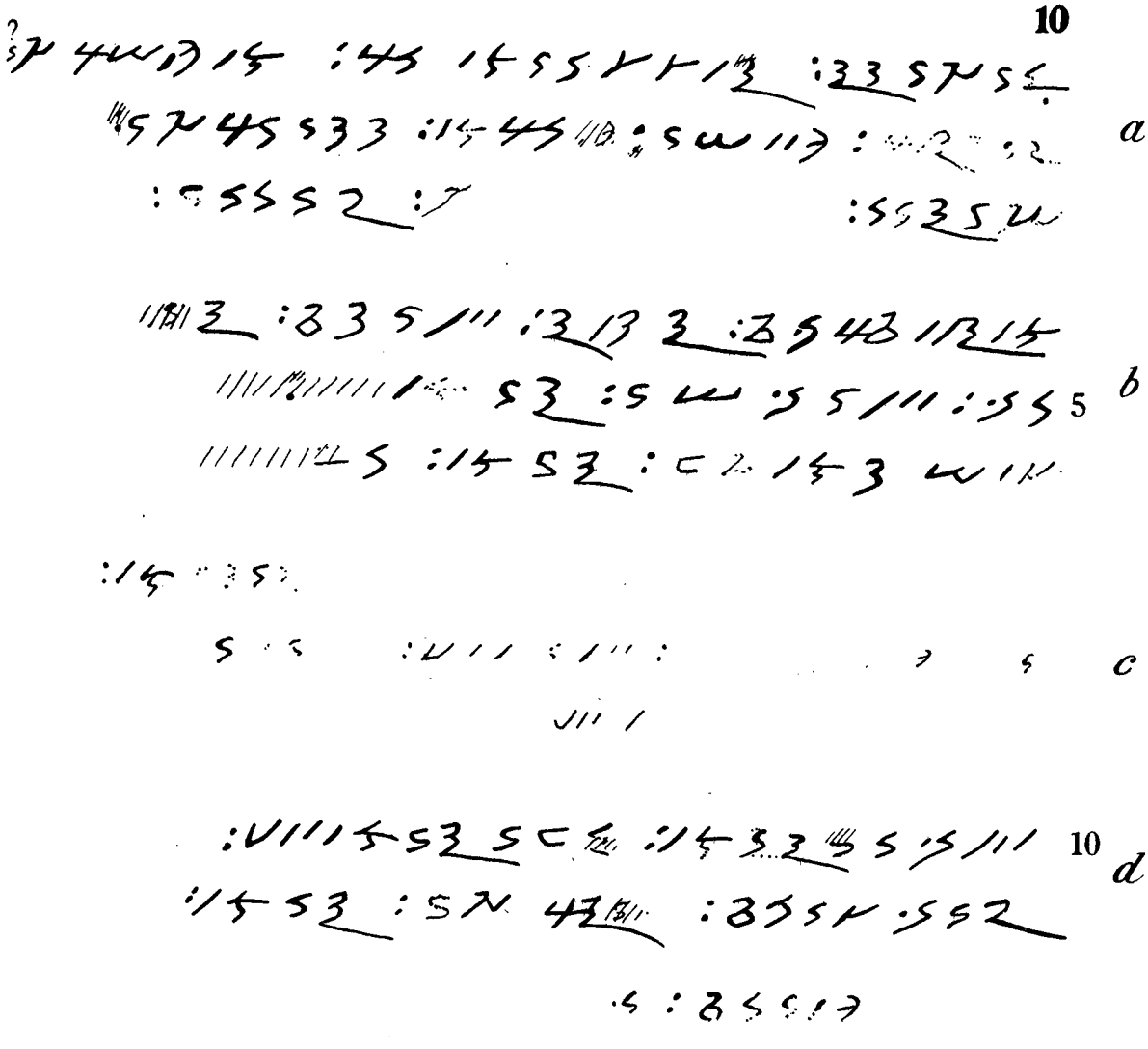
Inscription on a square pedestal (see Pl. XXV).

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LION-TEMPLE



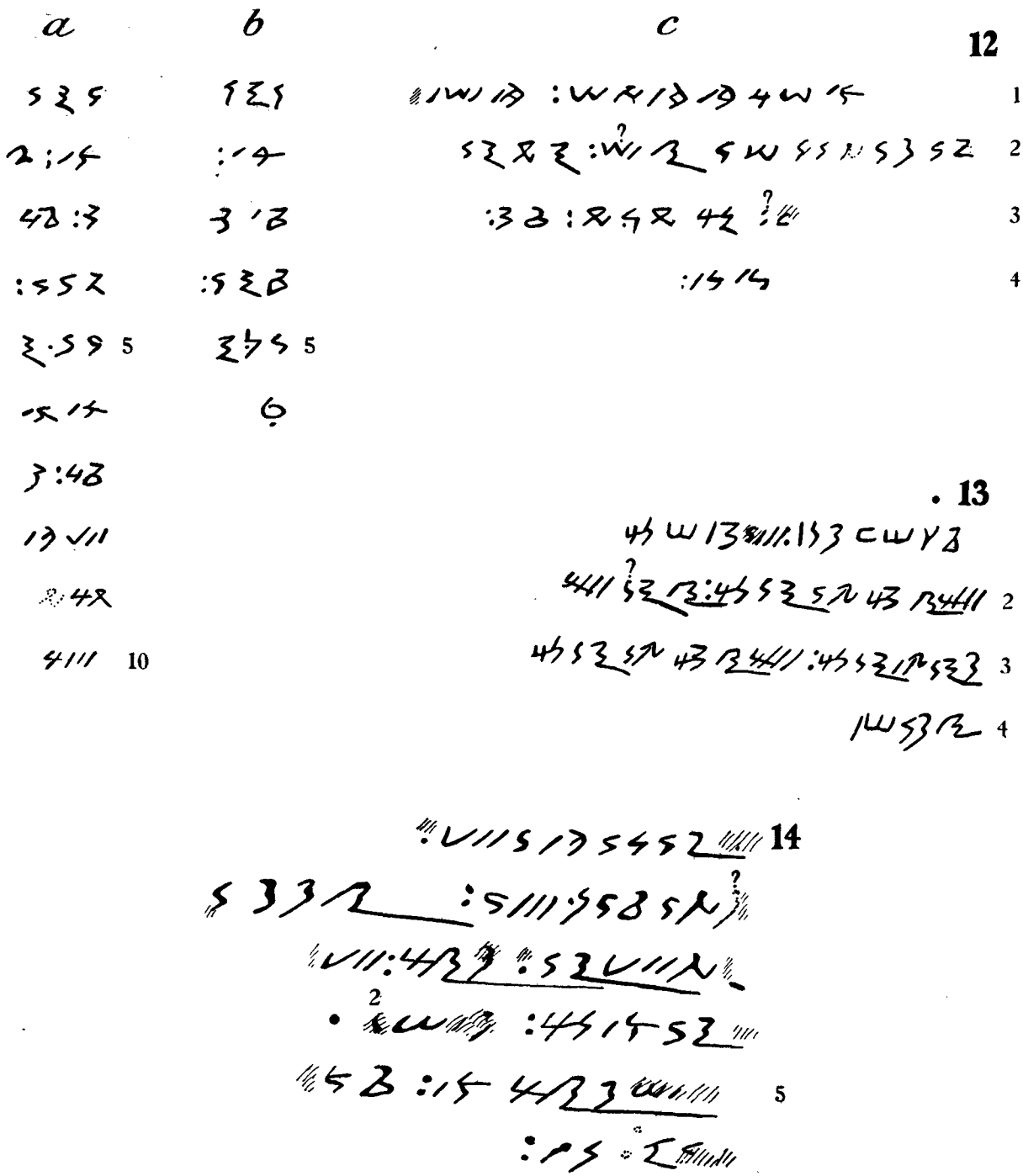
Inscription on a square pedestal (see Pl. XXVI).

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LION-TEMPLE

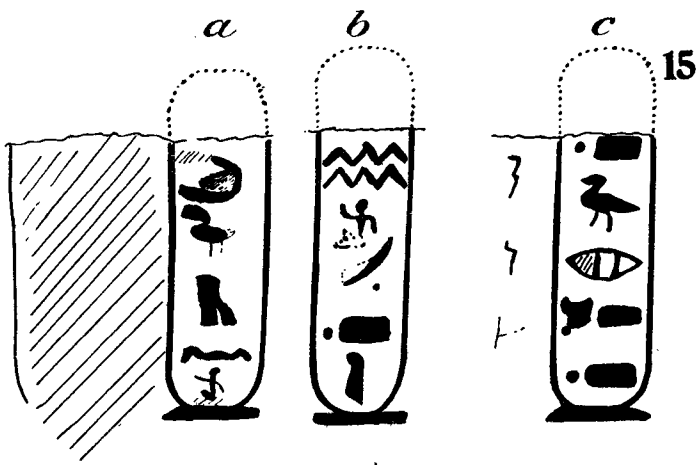


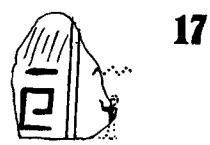
Inscription on a square pedestal (see Pl. XXVII).

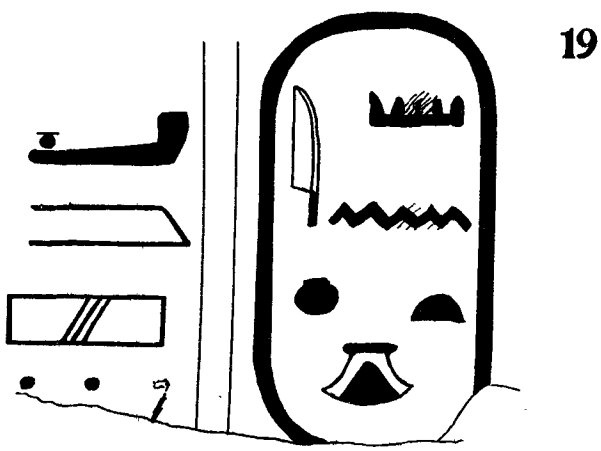
INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KENÎSEH (ISIS-TEMPLE, 600) AND THE TEMPLE OF AMON (250)

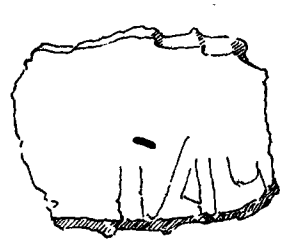


12. Granite stela (see Pl. XIX). 13. Graffito from Amon-temple, 275 (see Pl. XIX, ii).
14. Graffito on a block in the temenos-wall, 250 (see Pl. XIX, iii).





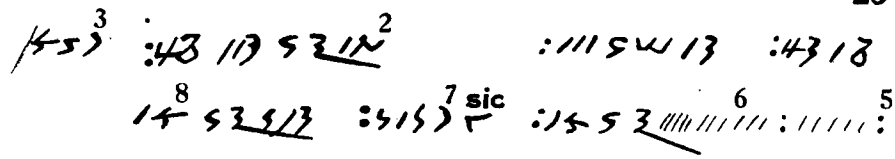




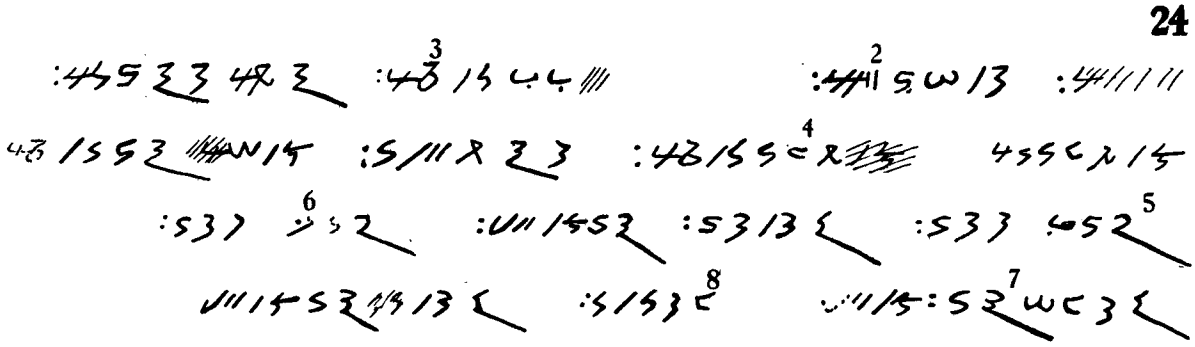
15–16. Cartouches and divine titles from central kiosk, 279 (see Pl. XII).
17. Hieroglyphs upon glass cameo (see Pl. X, iii).
19–21. Cartouche and inscriptions found near the city gateway, 281 (see Pl. XII).
22. Graffito on a potsherd from the Kenîseh, 600.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NECROPOLIS

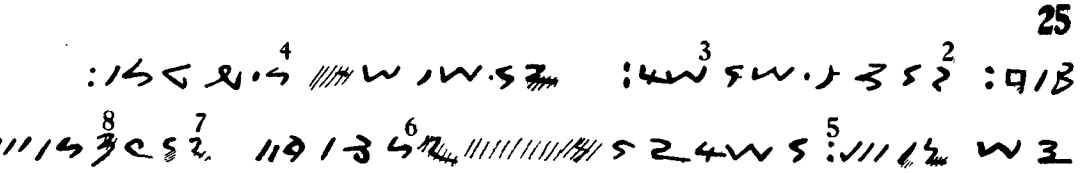
23



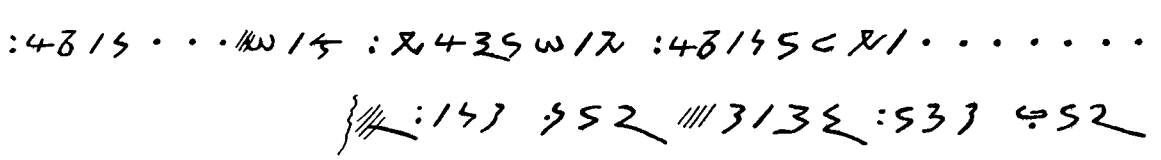
24



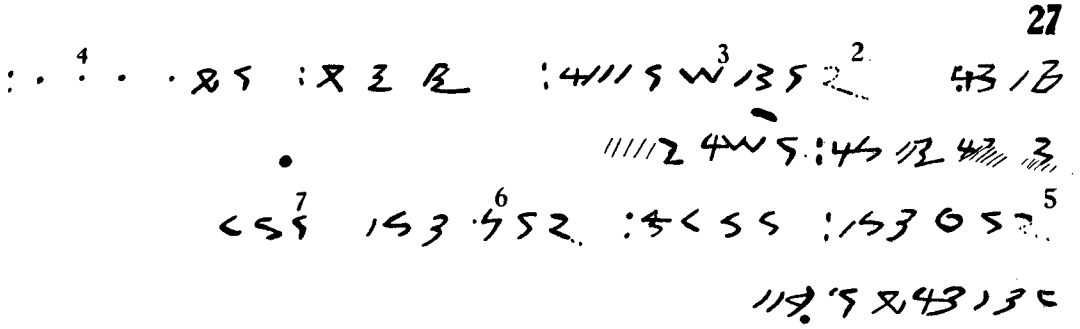
25



26



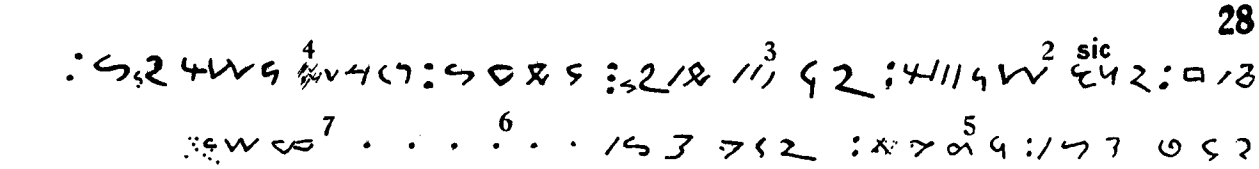
27



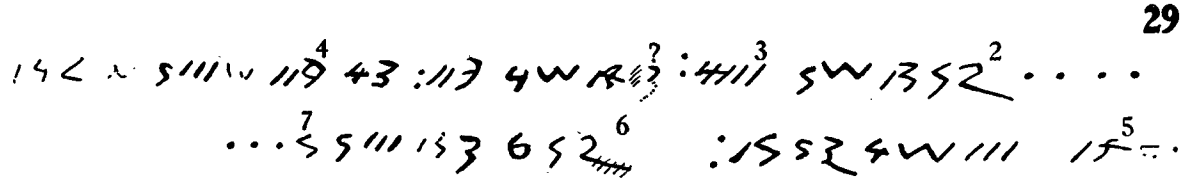
From tombs 501, 505, 302 (two), and 307 (see Pl. LV)

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NECROPOLIS

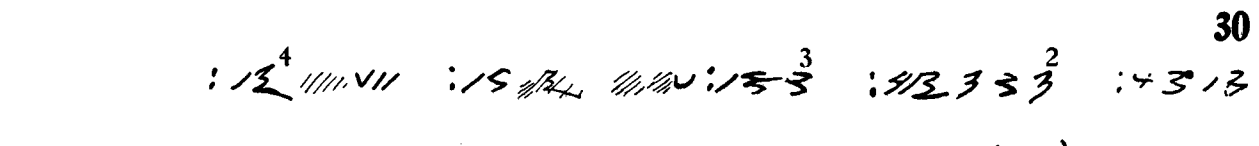
28



29

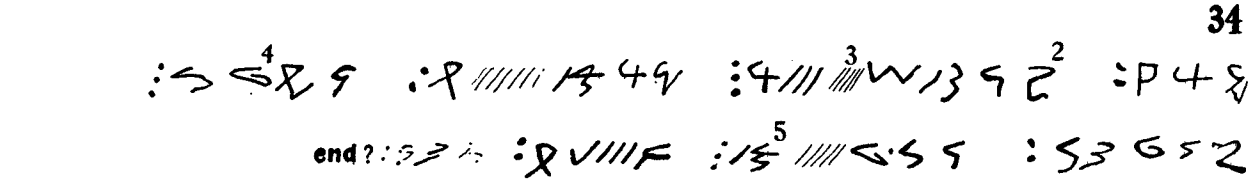


30



31

34



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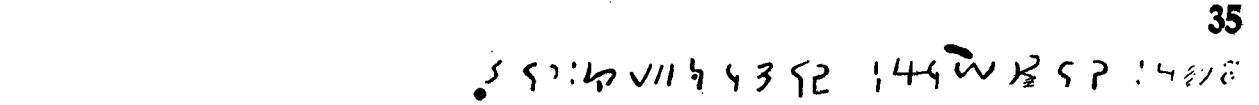

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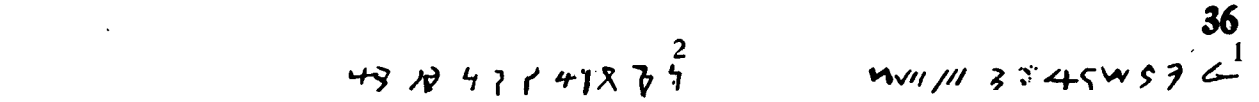

From tomb 307 (see Pl. LVI).

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NECROPOLIS

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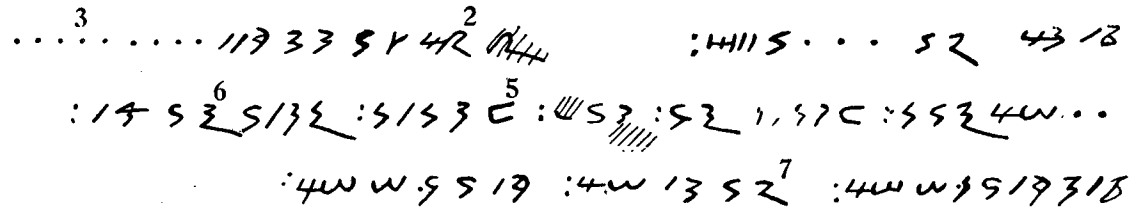

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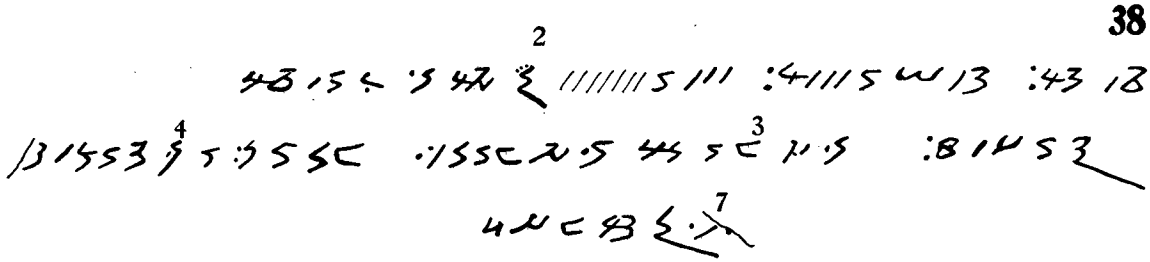

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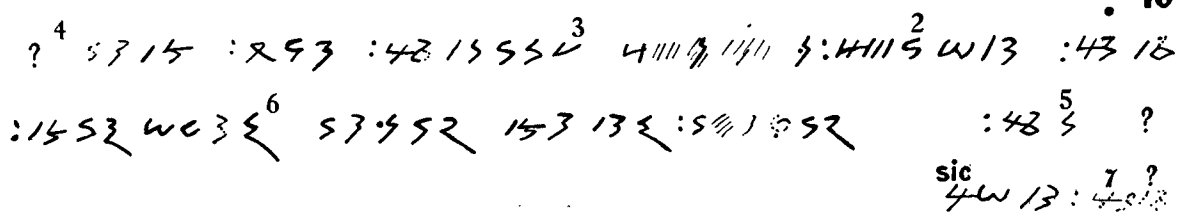

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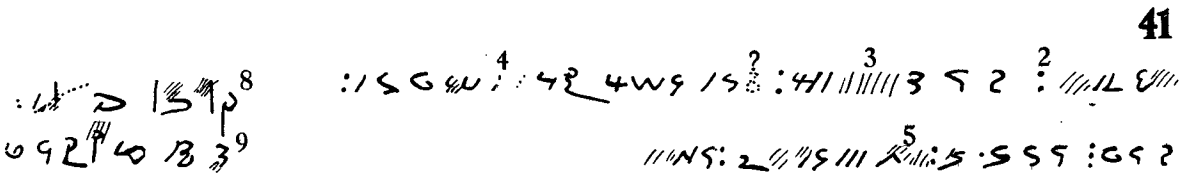

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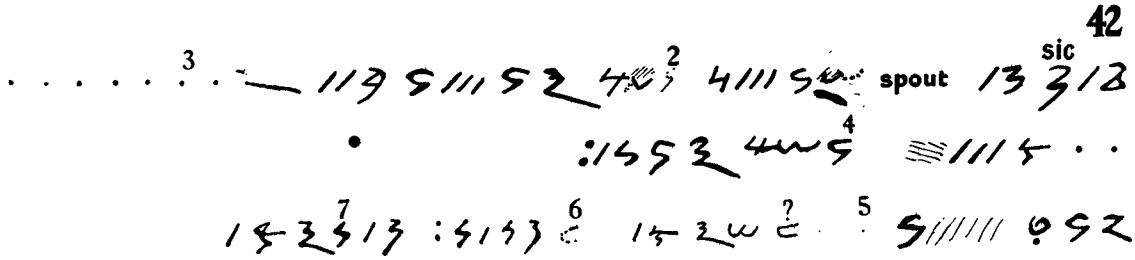

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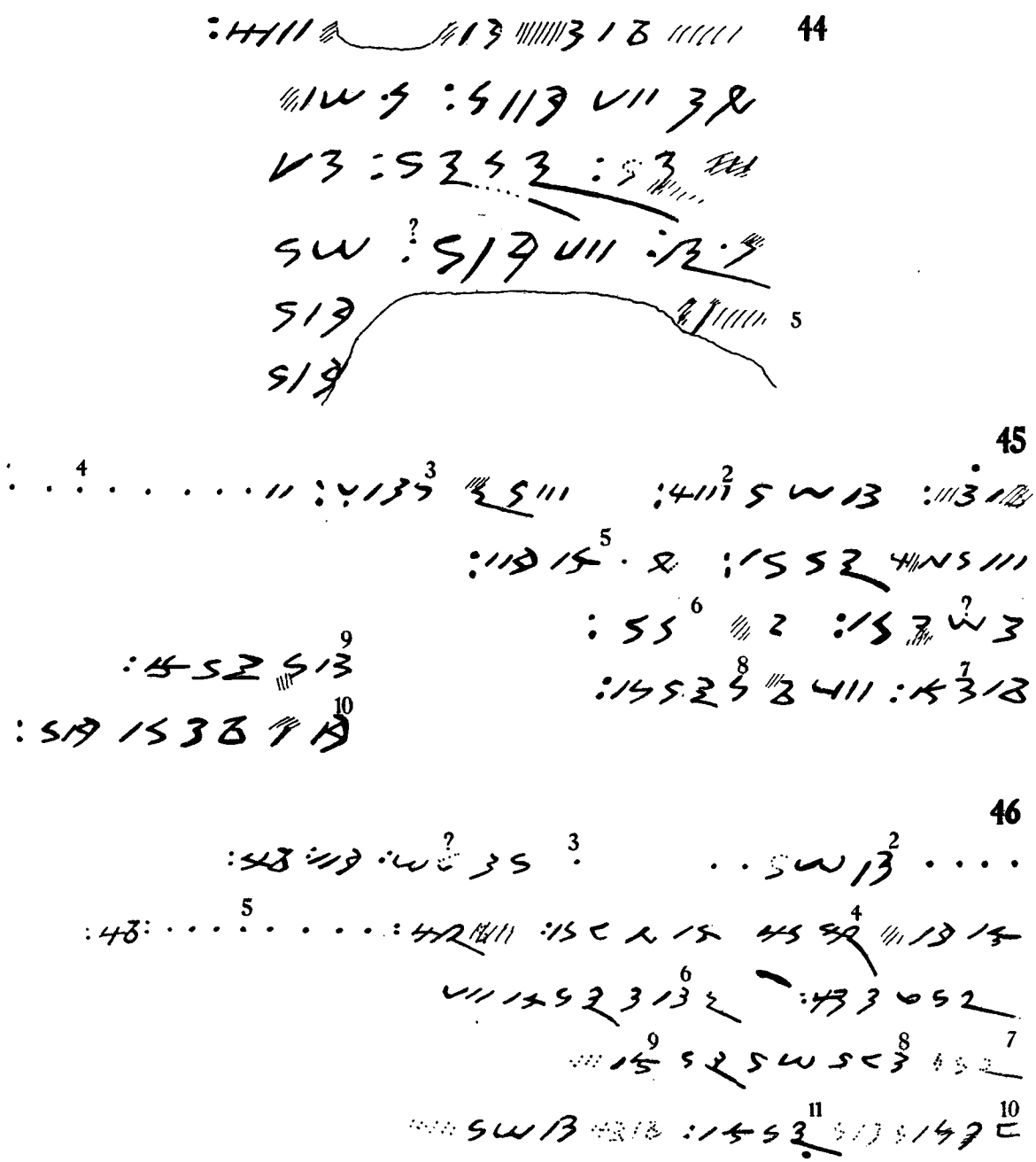
From tombs 307 (two), 310, 311, 325, 326, 327 (see Pl. LVII).

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NECROPOLIS



From tombs 340 and 362 (two) (see Pl. LVIII).

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NECROPOLIS

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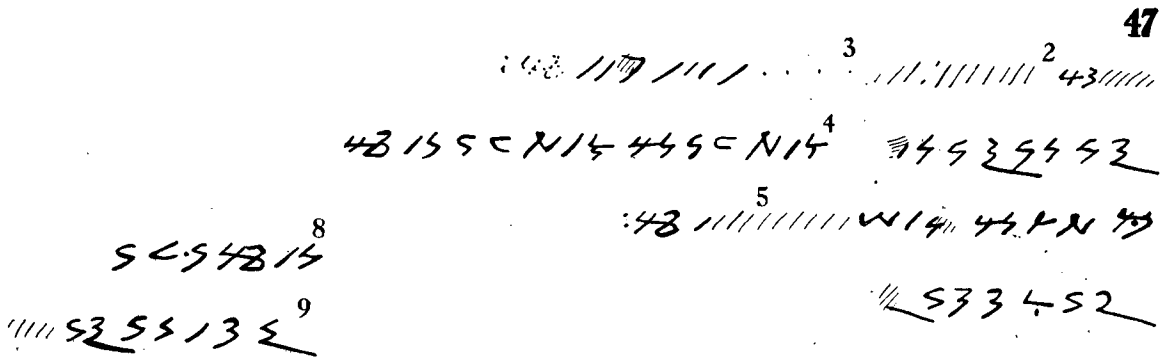

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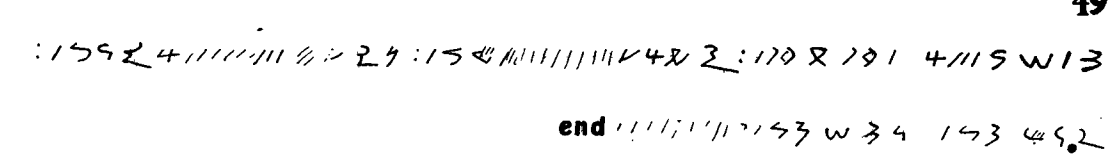

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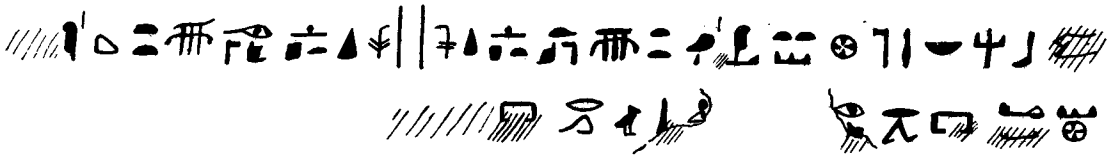

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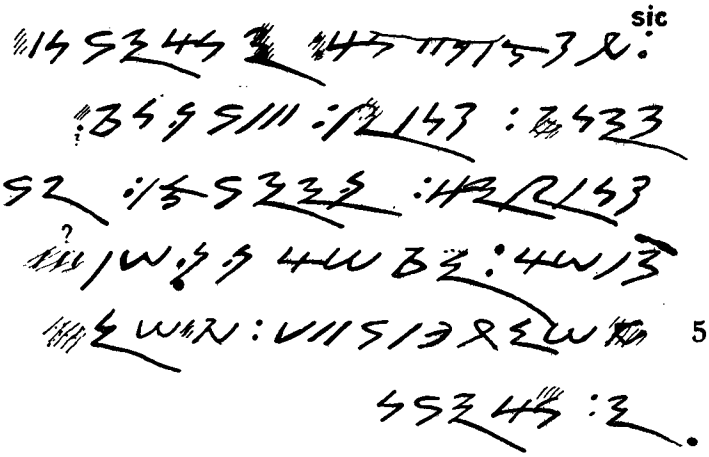

47 from tomb 362, 49 from 307, 50 from 412, 51 from 415 (see Pl. LIX).

APPENDIX

PRESENT LOCATION OF THE CHIEF MOVABLE ANTIQUITIES DESCRIBED

Plate.	Description.	Site number.	Museum or Collection.
I.	Lion-plaque	6	MacGregor, *Coll.* (Tamworth).
VII.	Altar	261	*In situ.*
IX.	Altar	267	*In situ.*
X (i).	Fragments Faïence	264	MacGregor, *Coll.*
X (ii).	Pottery	Various	Inst. of Archaeology (Liverpool).
X (iii).	Glass cameo of king	262	H. Martyn Kennard, *Coll.* (London).
X (v).	Glazed figures, &c.	264	J. Smith, *Coll.* (Liverpool).
XI.	Cyppus or votive tablet	261	Khartum Museum.
XII (i).	Sculptures and royal names	279	Inst. of Archaeology (Liverpool).
XII (vi).	Fragment of royal sculpture	281	
XIII (i).	Prisoners	291	*In situ.*
XIII (ii).	Bust	281	Inst. of Archaeology (Liverpool).
XIII (iii).	Bust	250	H. S. Wellcome, *Coll.* (London).
XIII (iv).	Bes-figure	279	*In situ.*
XV (iv).	Tile	600	MacGregor, *Coll.*
XVIII (ii).	King statue	600	Glyptothek (Copenhagen).
XVIII (iii).	Queen statue	600	Royal Scottish Museum (Edinburgh).
XVIII (iv).	Lion tank	600	Inst. of Archaeology (Liverpool).
XVIII (v).	Cupid and glazed figure	600	,, ,, ,,
XIX (iii).	Cursive inscription	260	Copenhagen.
XIX (iv).	Granite stela	600	Inst. of Archaeology (Liverpool).
XXI (iii, iv, vii).	Sculptures	6	,, ,, ,,
XXII (i).	Pylon-dial	6	J. Smith, *Coll.*
XXII (iii).	Royal statuette	6	Khartum Museum.
XXIII.	Stela	6	,, ,,
XXIV.	Stela	6	,, ,,
XXV–XXVII.	Three squared stones	6	Ashmolean Museum (Oxford) (per R. Mond, Esq.).
XXXV.	Cartouches, &c.	250	Inst. of Archaeology (Liverpool). (Lent by H. S. Wellcome, Esq.)
XLII (i).	Selection of Meroitic Pottery		Musées Royaux (Bruxelles).

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